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# THE HILDEBRANDINE REFORM AND ITS LATEST HISTORIAN*

The story of Pope Gregory VII and the age in which he lived has always had a singular fascination for the student of history, and it continues to-day to claim the attention of scholars in ever increasing numbers. Even during the last ten or twelve years a surprising amount of work has been produced on Hildebrand and the world of his day.

Of the recent important contributions to the literature on the Gregorian period we may here note briefly Erich Caspar's admirable edition of Gregory VII's Register of letters in the *Epistolae selectae* of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Gregorii VII Registrum.* Tom. II. Berlin, 1920-23), and the same author's remarkable essay on "Gregor VII in seinen Briefen," in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 130, 1-30 (1924); W. Schneider's *Papst Gregor VII und das Kirchengut,* Greifswald, 1919, a masterly study on a hitherto somewhat neglected subject; Heinrich Otto's "Heinrich IV in Canossa," in the *Historisches Jahrbuch,* vol. 37, 267-284 (1916), the ablest discussion of the disputed incidents of Henry IV's stay at Canossa; Paul Schmid's *Der Begriff der Kanonischen Wahl in den Anfaengen des Investitur-*

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*streites*, Stuttgart, 1926; Élie Voosen's *Papauté et Pouvoir Civil à l'époque de Grégoire VII*, Gembloux, 1927; M. Paul Fournier's *Grégoire VII et la rénovation des recueils du droit canonique*, Strassbourg, 1924, in which M. Fournier has further illustrated, in his luminous manner, the extent of Gregory VII's influence on the various collections of canon law that were made in his time; Dr. Wilhelm Wuehr's highly important *Studien zu Gregor VII: Kirchenreform und Weltpolitik*, Muenchen und Freising, 1930; and Bernhard Schmeidler's indispensable book *Heinrich IV und seine Helfer im Investiturstreit*, Leipzig, 1927. In the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. V, we have Dr. J. P. Whitney's excellent survey of the early stages of the Reform movement, and the two admirable chapters on Gregory VII and on Germany under Henry IV and Henry V by that careful and accurate scholar Mr. Z. N. Brooke; and Professor A. J. Carlyle has given us two further volumes of his learned and cautious book, *Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, IV, London, 1922; V, 1928. Reference must also be made here to the latest studies of the German scholars Haller, von Below, Schmeidler, Brackmann, Hampe, Zatchek, and Schramm, which reflect the most recent discussion of mediaeval German imperialism so important for our subject. But above all, I wish to direct special attention to the excellent work of the latest historian of the Hildebrandine period, —M. Augustin Fliche, of the University of Montpellier, France, who is today justly regarded as the leading authority on the great movement of reform to which Gregory VII gave his name.

It had been the task of an earlier generation of scholars to clear the memory of the great mediaeval pontiff from much of the traditional prejudice, extravagant misrepresentation and partisan legend, with which the story of his life's work had become so thickly overlaid. The fresh research and the penetrating learning of a later generation of students,—of men like Fournier, Stutz, Blaul, Caspar, Peitz, Poole, Fedele, Borino, and others,—have shed a more abundant light on the dark period of the eleventh century, and made clearer the setting in which the great pope's life had been placed.

During the past fifteen years M. Fliche has made many important contributions to the literature dealing with the church reform of the eleventh century and its religious polemics. In 1916, he published his solid and learned book on the Pre-gregorians, *Études sur la Polémique Religieuse à l'époque de Grégoire VII*; " this was followed (1917) by an admirable article on " Les théories germaniques de la souveraineté a la fin du XIe siècle," in the *Revue Historique*, and (1919), by a masterly series of essays on " Hildebrand " in *Le Moyen Age*; in 1920 his popular but scholarly study of Gregory VII, *Saint Grégoire VII* appeared in the French series " Les Saints "; and in 1924 he published the first volume of his elaborate work, *La Réforme Grégorienne.* I *La Formation des idées Grégoriennes*, as part of the learned collection *Spicelegium Lovaniense*; a second volume devoted to Gregory VII's pontificate appeared in 1926; and a third volume, which is to deal with the Post-gregorians, is on the way to publication.

The earlier works of M. Fliche may be regarded as preliminary studies leading up to his remarkable book *La Réforme Grégorienne*, the aim of which is to give a full and detailed account of the origin and development of the great Reform movement of the church in the eleventh century, and to determine more closely the part played in it by Gregory VII.

It is obviously impossible within the limits of this brief paper to give a full exposition of the learned author's argument,—all that may be attempted here is a concise summary of the main conclusions arrived at by M. Fliche after his fresh investigation and profound study of the sources and the voluminous literature dealing with the period.

In his study on the Pre-gregorians and in his essays on Hildebrand, M. Fliche made it clear that the influence of Hildebrand in his pre-papal days has been greatly exaggerated. " Most writers until now have made Hildebrand the central figure and the mainspring of reform from A. D. 1048 onwards. For this, however, there is little evidence in the sources, and none really trustworthy, although the tradition is still repeated; if we find him active in important posts under Leo IX and his successors, he might be merely carrying out their designs and not inspiring their policy." [1] As an able and most energetic co-laborer of five predecessors in the papacy he supported, indeed, a consistent program of reform, but he was not so much the guiding intellect of the group of reformers at the papal court as their executive arm. The two outstanding leaders of the reform were Humbert, a native of Lorraine, and a monk of Moyenmoutier in the Vosges, better known under his later name, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, and the great Italian theologian and ascetic, Peter Damian. The progressive ideas of the movement originated with Cardinal Humbert. To both of these men Gregory VII was indebted for his leading ideas. Against Humbert, for a longer period than is generally admitted, Hildebrand maintained an attitude more in harmony with the ideals of Peter Damiani, the more moderate of the two leaders. The famous election decree of 1059, which freed papal elections from lay control, was not inspired by Hildebrand, as is commonly believed, but by Cardinal Humbert, of whose views it is a faithful reflection. And the Norman alliance, though negotiated by Hildebrand, was yet in the main due to Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Cassino. As late as the pontificate of Nicholas II, the papal policy was shaped by Cardinal Humbert, who, "until the time of his death in 1061, remained the foremost man in the Curia, called by Damiani one of the eyes of the Pope, the other being Boniface, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, himself a great figure in the Curia." The employment of Hildebrand as legate to France in 1053, to settle the affair of Berengarius, and his mission to Germany in 1057-1058, to announce the election of Stephen IX to the imperial court, mark, according to M. Fliche, the two main manifestations of a wider official activity in his earlier career at the papal court. Prior to the pontificate of Alexander II, whose election he had secured, Hildebrand exercised no dominant influence on the papal policy, and his real significance begins only with his elevation to the papacy. But, until well up into the beginnings of his own pontificate, Hildebrand by no means despaired of carrying out the work of reform in concord with Henry IV; it was only the persistent opposition of the young king to all his measures that gradually forced the pope to adopt the radical theories of the more extreme wing of the reformers as propounded by Cardinal Humbert.

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[1] *Études sur la Polémique Religieuse,* Avant-propos v, vi. Cf. *English Historical Review,* October, 1917.

M. Fliche begins his book on the Gregorian Reform with a striking presentation of the religious crisis in the tenth century, and paints a graphic picture of the papacy in a period of deep abasement and obscurity; of the enfeeblement of the episcopal office; of the seizure by kings and nobles of bishoprics and abbeys; of the selling of ecclesiastical dignities and orders; of the low morality of clerical life,—a period in which "the Church seemed about to lose its power, because it was losing the spirit by which it should live." But amid its worst disorders a movement for reform began: the Cluniac reform, first of all, with St. Odo of Cluny, its leader, and Abbo of Fleury, its leading literary exponent; then the reform by certain serious-minded and zealous bishops, in Italy and in Lorraine, with Atto of Vercelli as the chief spokesman of the Italian school, and that unquiet spirit, Ratherius of Liége (d. 974), Bishop of Verona, and Wazo, the Bishop of Lüttich (Liége) 1042-1048, as the leading representatives of the Lorraine school of reform; finally, the imperial reform, when emperors and kings themselves, at times, seconded and sustained the efforts of the bishops.

M. Fliche departs very widely from the tradition that the cluniac reform was a prelude to the gregorian reform, and that the latter was a direct result of the former. He draws a sharp distinction between the monastic reform and the secular reform. In the former, the role of Cluny was enormous, but there its mission ended. The Cluniac movement was exclusively monastic and did not extend to the secular church. The gregorian program comprised two fundamental principles: first, the reform must be effected by the papacy, and by a papacy rendered completely independent of the secular power; second, the reform must begin by attacking the root of all the evils in the church, that is,—lay investiture. Neither of these ideas originated in cluniac circles. The author's opinion that the gregorian reform did not proceed directly from Cluny appears to be well-founded. But he maintains further that the cluniac reform was "particularistic and self-centered" and exercised no real influence at all on the reform of the secular church. Here M. Fliche underestimates the influence of Cluny. "Though Cluny is not directly responsible for the Hildebrandine claims, the revival which it made possible did give a new strength to the Church in its struggle against pure secularism. Cluny prepared the necessary forces to render the social and personal renewals possible, and to break down the powers of evil, which, during that whole period, had dishonored and oppressed the Church of God." The cluniacs did not, perhaps, conceive the plan of Church reform which was carried out by Gregory VII, but at least they created an atmosphere favorable to the execution of that plan.

The program of reform styled gregorian is thus found to have been first outlined, not at Cluny, but rather in the ancient realm of Lorraine, by Ratherius of Verona (who was born at Liége) in the tenth century, and developed later in the eleventh century, in the circle of Wazo of Liége.

The accession of Leo IX (1048) who, as Bruno, Bishop of Toul, had been a strong reforming prelate, marked a step in advance in the history of the gregorian reform. It is Leo's outstanding merit to have contributed the leadership of the papacy to the movement. Henceforth, the reform is no longer local, cluniac, episcopal, or imperial,—it is Roman, and consequently universal. Though a native of Lorraine, Leo IX, unfortunately, says M. Fliche, refrained from carrying out the essential article of the Lorraine program, namely, the delivery of the papacy from imperial domination. Victor II (1055-1057) made no change in the Church policy introduced by Leo IX, but Stephen IX (1057-1058) seems to have made earnest efforts to free the Church from lay domination.

In two interesting chapters of his book M. Fliche discusses, with the help of an analysis of their writings, the two outstanding figures of the Pre-gregorian reform movement,—Peter Damian, who represented one section of the reformers, and Cardinal Humbert of Moyenmoutier, who lead the newer and more extreme section which was gradually becoming larger and gaining greater influence. The two leaders "attacked the same problems but gave different solutions of them. The evils they had to face were widespread clerical immorality and a deeply-rooted secularization of the Church; these either showed themselves in the prevalence of simony, or else arose directly from it. The enforcement of clerical celibacy, the encouragement of monasticism and its reform, the advocacy of asceticism, were parts of the attempt to raise clerical life, and here nearly all reformers were agreed. But there were differences among them when it came to a remedy for the secularization of the Church. Peter Damiani on the one side, thought it both possible and right for pope and emperor to work together for good; a king who put down simony and furthered piety might be allowed much control in church matters without any harm being caused. Cardinal Humbert, on the other hand, urged the independence of the Church from any lay control."[2] In comparison with Damian, Humbert discerned more clearly that lay investiture was the root source of all the abuses in the Church, and he had therefore, little sympathy with reform by the help of the civil power. Hildebrand, though in many ways a follower of Damiani, took his political theories from Cardinal Humbert.

A new era of the gregorian reform movement began with Nicholas II (1059-1061) under whom the reform program was at length crystallized into definite decisions. In the Lateran Synods of 1059 and 1061, important decrees were promulgated against clerical immorality, simony, and lay investiture, but the most important enactment of Nicholas was the celebrated decree of election which freed papal elections from lay control. M. Fliche looks upon the pontificate of Nicholas as the prelude to that of Gregory VII, and deems it unfortunate that the pontificate

[2] *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1917, 593. See also Dr. J. P. Whitney's excellent paper—"Peter Damiani and Humbert" in *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3 (1925).

of Alexander II (1061-1073) should have intervened. Though Alexander II unquestionably continued the policy of Church reform begun by his predecessors, he yet seems to have abandoned the essential point of the program. By seeking the support of the king of Germany to secure his own election, he had weakened his independent authority, and, over against that prince at least, had practically deprived himself of the right to nominate bishops freely, or to demand the observance of the disciplinary canons on elections. Accordingly, we cannot find it strange, that, from 1061 to 1073, every German bishop should be nominated, not by the pope, but by the king. And thus in spite of the efforts of the pope and his faithful coadjutors Peter Damian and Hildebrand, the growth of reform seemed to slacken in Alexander's last years.

The second volume of M. Fliche's work, which is wholly taken up with the events of Gregory's pontificate (1073-1085), tells the story of the great pope's heroic struggle for Church reform with evident sympathy and deep understanding. We find here what we miss so much in other works,—a careful analysis of the theological principles on which alone Gregory VII based his stupendous claims. It is less a narrative of facts than a doctrinal and literary history.

The volume begins with a penetrating investigation of the sources and a detailed critical analysis of the narrative literature on the gregorian period. Not everything is equally new or original in this luminous introduction, for the author skilfully utilises the results of many outlying researches, and assumes the views he had previously expressed in his earlier works. He accepts the main conclusions of Peitz and Blaul that the correspondence of the pope as we have it today, is not a selection, but the original and actual Register of Gregory VII, and that this main source for a trustworthy view of Gregory's life and reign may now be used without any hesitation or reserve. Gregory's correspondence is, in many ways, the mirror of his soul,—it is also the most authoritative expression of his doctrines and theories.

In discussing the problems connected with Gregory's accession, M. Fliche comes to the conclusion that Hildebrand's election conformed, at least substantially, to the Election Decree of Nicholas II, and that the main purpose of the decree had been fulfilled,—even though the Roman populace had anticipated the deliberations of the Cardinals, and the formalities of the decree had only subsequently been complied with. There is no evidence to show that the newly elected pope asked the royal assent, but we know that, at his consecration, he accepted the presence of Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli,—"that demon of Vercelli" as an enemy styled him,—as Henry's representative, and that was equivalent to confirmation.

The character sketch of Gregory VII drawn by M. Fliche is one of the finest in recent literature. "Hauck's sketch of Gregory errs on the side of brilliance, and the colours of restless ambition, vast energy, and an almost demoniac craftiness are laid on too thickly. Compared with such an impressionist picture the sketch drawn by M. Fliche seems almost commonplace but without doubt is nearer 'things as they really are.'"[3] M. Fliche sees in Gregory "avant tout une âme ardente, très éprise d'idéal chrétien, partant très désireuse de restaurer la discipline, de remettre en honneur la vieille loi du célibat ecclésiastique, d'en finir avec le scandaleux trafic des évêchés,"[4] and depicts eloquently the pope's ardent faith, his illumined piety, his deep humility, his profound resignation, his embracing charity, his great love of peace and of *justitia*,—righteousness,—and his exalted conception of the duties of his office. Though a great saint, he was yet no great diplomatist. The source of his success and strength lay in his supernatural confidence and conviction, not in his political skill. "Victory came in the end, in spite of his seeming defeat at the moment of death." It may be noted here that M. Fliche rejects as apocryphal the famous last words of Gregory VII, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile," and he points to other inaccuracies in the account of the death-bed scene by Paul von Bernried, Gregory's earliest biographer. Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Cassino was not among those named by the pope as possible successors. Gregory had little confidence in Desiderius, and had excommunicated him for his secret negotiations with Henry IV, in the days when all seemed to end in confusion at Rome.

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[3] *English Historical Review*, Oct., 1917, 594.

[4] *La Réforme Grégorienne*, I, 383.

Further chapters of M. Fliche's excellent work are devoted to an account of the methods successively employed by Gregory VII in carrying out the work of reform; of his policy of ecclesiastical centralization; of his great struggle with Henry IV, in the course of which he was led to define "the bases on which the papal authority rested and the sphere within which it could be exercised;" and of Gregory's views and theories on the natural supremacy of the spirtual over the civil power. The volume closes with an excellent chapter on Gregory's theory, of what M. Fliche calls *the sacerdotal government,*—as laid down in the pope's magnificent letter to Hermann, Bishop of Metz (the second letter, 1081). But a discussion of these subjects would carry me far beyond the limits of this brief paper, which I shall now close with the singularly clear summary of recent critical work on Hildebrand and his age by a noted English writer: "The eleventh century," says this writer, "is no longer an unfamiliar age, nor is Hildebrand an isolated portent. The poor Tuscan peasant who became a monk of the Burgundian Abbey of Cluny, and through the sheer force of a demoniacal personality forced upon a debased Church the ideals of his order, is now almost as mythical a figure as William Tell. We have instead to reckon with a slow, spreading movement towards ecclesiastical reform and papal supremacy, in which Hildebrand played a commanding but by no means a revolutionary part. His father, though of Tuscan and apparently obscure origin, married a Roman lady who belonged to one of the well-to-do families of reforming sympathies. The boy was brought up in a society of Roman citizens whose religious centre was the monastery, founded under Cluniac auspices, of St. Mary on the Aventine, but whose ecclesiastical programme was gradually defined under the pressure of more far-reaching forces. Among these stood canonical ideas which, so far as they were not Italian, were Rhenish rather than Burgundian in origin and based on a tradition going back beyond the pseudo-Isidorean decretals. The papal policy in the so-called Investiture controversy was not new in the history of the Church, nor was the struggle for investiture, in the strict sense, the fundamental issue. Hildebrand did not exert any marked influence till shortly before his pontificate began. He was almost certainly a monk, but was certainly not a monk of Cluny. His views perhaps acquired precision in the circle of Wazo of Liége. He was much more, however, than monk or lawyer. His greatness . . . lies in a statesmanship which was inspired by the great traditions of the Western Church,—the practice of Gregory the Great, the theory of Augustine, moderation and restraint when accommodation was possible, unflinching obedience to the principles of righteousness (*justitia*)." [5]

THOMAS OESTREICH.

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[5] *Times Literary Supplement*, London, April 21, 1921.

# THE SAINT'S LIFE IN VERNACULAR LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES[1]

Our brief survey of the subject indicated must be limited to the older French field. To this field the late Paul Meyer, Director of the École des Chartes, devoted much patient research, analyzing and classifying the hagiographical accounts composed in French from the ninth century down to the end of the medieval period in the fifteenth century. The present paper is not intended to add anything new to the facts established by him in an array of articles published in various places and notably in volume 33 of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, that splendid record which was begun by the scholarly Benedictines and has been continued by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. It will not be a difficult task to assemble and add to Meyer's material the data contributed in the last quarter of a century or so by other investigators: at present we are merely calling attention to the impressive array of medieval French legends of saints in verse and prose, and especially those in verse, with the hope that ere long ways and means may be discovered of making a corpus of the extant material and subjecting it all to the close study which it deserves and which it has received as yet only partially.

Of the more than two hundred versified lives a good many have already been printed; but a large number have appeared only in extracts from the manuscripts or have remained wholly inedited. A considerable proportion of those in print are scattered widely through learned periodicals, while others have been issued in separate editions. As a result, much effort is required of one who would view at first hand the many preserved documents, and it is safe to say that very few persons have done so.

Now this hagiographical material, both historical and legendary, should be of interest to the student of religious ideas in general, since it illustrates one of the ways in which, in times when the mass of the folk was analphabetic, that mass was stimulated to increased religious fervor. Through the public chanting and recitation of the deeds of some notable saint, male or female, the illiterate multitude was reminded of the courage of former champions of the faith and was stimulated to imitation of their steadfastness. In another connection, the student of the history of literature has reason to prize particularly the versified lives, since among them are the oldest specimens of French literature. Moreover, it is not unlikely that, having marked the first successful attempts of French to prove its fitness for literary expression, they prepared the way and furnished the models for the *chansons de geste*, those epic poems which constitute one of the most important of the forms of literary composition in Old French and in the literature of the whole Middle Ages. The Old French clerk, the Old French *trouvère*, the Old French *jongleur*, sang first of the heroism of the saint, the strong man or woman, the stalwart Christian, who, as warrior of God, defied the enemy of Christ and his Church and perished a champion of the true faith. Thus it is that there came into existence the Cantilena of St. Eulalia in the ninth century, the Life of St. Leger in the tenth or early eleventh, and that of St. Alexius in the eleventh. From the versified accounts of these warriors of God—the legends of saints—the passage is easy, in the eleventh century, and especially from the beginning of the twelfth century on, to the *chansons de geste*, composed also by clerks, by *trouvères*, by *jongleurs*. In these, as a result of the constantly growing sense of French nationalism, along with the development of chivalric ideals, the champion that is sung, at least in the oldest and most representative *chansons*, is at one and the same time a defender of the Christian faith against the infidel and the exalted patriotic knight fighting against the Saracenic foes of his "sweet France".

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[1] **Read at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Boston, Mass., December 31, 1930.**

There are those who have other theories of the origin of the Old French epics such as the *Chanson de Roland*, or the *Chanson de Guillaume*, or the *Gormand et Isembard*, but a growing acceptance of the views promulgated by Professor Bédier gives support to the argument that the *chansons de geste* continued and elaborated a narrative tradition already fixed in French literature by the appearance in it of certain versified lives of saints.

However all this may be, the versifying of legends of the saints was continued with unremitting energy through the course of French literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and thus, having first preceded, it now paralleled the copious output of epic poems during that same period of some two hundred years. The legends even outlived the epics, and, still useful as an incentive to pious reflexion and deed, appeared in ever new examples in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Now, it is patent to the most casual observer that the Old French legends of saints, whether in verse or in prose, derive in very large measure from anterior documents in Latin. It is also evident that in a goodly number of them the element of what we may call religious folklore, with much pious exaggeration of facts, is certainly present. This did no harm: it merely stressed the religious and moral lesson, and the Church saw no reason to condemn openly the ultra-romantic embroidery which was at times attached over-lavishly to the center-piece of historic record. On the other hand, a larger amount of historicity is obvious in those examples in which the saintly subject was but of yesterday when the account of him was written. This is strikingly the case in the instance of the Life of St. Thomas à Becket which Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence composed in stanzas of monorhymed alexandrines and in beautiful French, shortly after 1172; and it is again to be seen in certain poems of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on St. Francis of Assisi, in a thirteenth-century account of St. Dominic, and in some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century verse lives of St. Anthony of Padua.

The accounts in Latin of the older saints, whose activity in the more remote past lent itself more readily to embellishment with those unauthentic details of the marvellous and the exciting which the French lives took over from them, are, of course, found readily enough today in the compilation made by the Bollandists and in other collections familiar to students of hagiography and of church history (such as the *Legenda Aurea,* Migne's *Patrologia,* etc.). Back of the Latin form of the life of this or that saint there is, not infrequently, a Greek original, for which we know or can postulate, in some instances, a Syriac or other oriental source. On this whole subject we can hardly do better than repeat the statement made by Paul Meyer:

> Under the title of hagiographical legends we understand all the accounts having as their object the story of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints, which were composed by Christian writers with a view to the instruction or the edification of the faithful, from the earliest times of Christianity. The oldest of these compositions, apocryphal gospels, lives of the apostles, and passions of the first martyrs, belong to oriental Christianity and their originals are Greek.[2] Early translated into Latin, these compositions were rapidly disseminated throughout the Christian occident, now separately, and again grouped with legends of purely Latin origin, and in collections of the most varied sort. In the course of the Middle Ages their number was increased greatly. The production of lives of the saints was considerable . . . in France from the sixth to the eleventh century; during the same time, numerous legends, redacted in Greek in the eastern Empire, received a Latin form, usually in southern Italy, and thence they spread through occidental Christendom. These innumerable writings, for the most part of a doubtful veracity [*a non-Catholic is speaking*], several of them having been termed apocryphal in antiquity, have been for the literatures in the vulgar tongues, and especially for our [*French*] literature, an inexhaustible source of varied composition in both verse and prose. In the Romance form they have acquired a new vitality and have found access to the simple and naive souls for whom their unknown authors had intended them. . . . The first pious legends that we encounter in our old [*French*] literature are in verse. The rhythmical and rhymed form imposed itself once it was a question of works meant to be sung or recited before an illiterate public. One must not seek in these poems an originality which is almost excluded from them by their very character.[3] Their interest for us lies elsewhere. Certain of them are among the oldest monuments of the Romance tongues. It will suffice to recall the two poems (the *Life of St. Leger* and the *Passion of Christ*) preserved for us by a MS. of Clermond-Ferrand. Others, such as the *Life of St. Alexius* and that of *St. Thaïs,* recommend

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[2] He should have made allowance here for an occasional original back of the Greek form, e. g., a Syriac original for the story of St. Alexius.

[3] That is, they are a popularization in the vernacular of material already there in Latin.

themselves by the elegant simplicity of their narrative, by the skill with which the hagiographical data are set forth, by the incontestable worth of their style. And even those of the legends in verse which are the work of second-rate versifiers can furnish notions useful for the history of ideas and of [*superstitious*] beliefs. Not one of the writers who have put into verse the life of St. Catherine and that of St. Margaret has risen above mediocrity; but the mere fact that each of these legends has furnished matter for ten or twelve poems testifies strikingly to the popularity enjoyed by these saints from the twelfth century on. It is surely interesting, from a purely historical point of view, to make clear the direction taken by the varied tastes of the public, and the enormous mass of versified legends that have come down to us supplies, in this regard, precious indications.

There is a *Summa de penitentia*[4] of the thirteenth century in which it is said that Pope Alexander III (1159-81) advocated toleration for the *joculatores* or minstrels who *cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum.* These *jongleurs* or minstrels were the persons who actually presented the versified lives to the public audiences. They were not as a rule the authors, although occasionally a particularly well-trained one among them might and did essay authorship. In most instances they were indebted for their stock in trade to ecclesiastical writers, such as the eleventh-century canon of Rouen, Thibaut de Vernon, who may have composed the *Vie de S. Alexis*, or the Benedictine monk who prepared the oldest poem on St. Catherine, or the monk at Oxford who provided one of the lives of St. Gregory, or the Minorite friar, Nicholas Bozon, who was writing his legends in England in the first half or the fourteenth century, or the members of the secular clergy to whom we owe lives of St. Theobald, of St. Mathurin, and so on.

Sometimes the clergy who contributed efficaciously to the labor of versifying the legends in French were persons of considerable note in the general history of French literature. This is true particularly of Wace and of Gautier de Coincy. Wace, who was in close relations with the Anglo-Norman court in the second half of the twelfth century, and eventually became a canon at Bayeux, has not only left us lives of St. Nicholas of Myra, of St. Margaret, and possibly of St. George of Lyssa, as well as one of the Blessed Virgin, but he ranks high in the annals of Old French literature for his rhymed chronicles: the *Roman de Brut* and the *Roman de Rou.* Gaston Paris termed him the first professional among French authors. Gautier de Coincy (c. 1177-1236), renowned for his *Miracles de la Sainte-Vierge*, was Grand Prior of S. Médard near Soissons, where he died. And not all the versifiers of legends were of the clergy. The layman, Rutebeuf, who flourished between 1250 and 1285, is an example of the *jongleur* who rose to high rank among the authors of his time. Though addicted to the writing of lyrics and other compositions that are decidedly secular in their nature, he had also the inclination which led him to prepare a verse life of St. Elisabeth for Queen Isabelle of Navarre, as well as a miracle play dealing with Theophilus. Another important lay writer who may be regarded as having some relationship to the composers of saints' legends was Marie de France. Far famed for her lays or love poems and interesting for her versified fables, this authoress, a native of France but a denizen of the Anglo-Norman court in the second half of the twelfth century, converted the legend of St. Patrick's Purgatory from Latin into Old French verse. Occasionally the layman responsible for an individual legend informs us that he had composed frivolous love poetry in his earlier years and later, repenting of such practice, resolved to devote himself to the more honorable task of translating a saint's life from Latin into the form of a French poem.

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[4] Cited by F. Guessard, in his ed. of the *Huon de Bordeaux*, p. vi, note.

Adopting Meyer's division of the more than two hundred versified lives in Old French that have survived to us out of a much larger number that must once have existed, we establish three groups of them:

(1) Legends belonging to the earliest centuries of Christianity. These, in their Latin form, having entered soon into the make-up of the liturgical offices, found their place in the breviaries. They had great vogue, as is proved by the existence of several versions of them preserved in a great number

of manuscripts. Elements of the marvellous are common in them and it is not unusual for them to display a somewhat dramatic setting.

(2) Lives of saints venerated in specific localities. These, figuring in the breviaries of this or that diocese, were put into French to reach the mass of the faithful in a particular locality.

(3) Lives of more recent saints, such as St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Theobald of Champagne, St. Alban, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Anthony of Padua.

Along with the saints' legends pure and simple, there are of note poems on Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and on Tobias, and there are versions of the Gospel of Nicodemus and of the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*; all of which exhibit use of material derived from the authentic Gospels, from the apocryphal Gospels, and from various very early fictitious accounts.

The bulk of the Old French legendary in verse seems to have originated in the northerly, rather than the southerly, part of the French-speaking region; that is, it took form in Normandy, the Île de France, Picardy, French Flanders, Champagne, the districts of Beauvais and Artois, and Anglo-Norman England. However, a few lives appear to have emanated from Lorraine, Poitou and the areas of Tours and Lyons. Of course, in the sister language, Provençal, spoken in the southern portion of what is now the French nation, there were composed certain lives to which we give no attention now.

The verse form adopted for our documents is richly diversified. We find couplets, quatrains, and stanzas of five, six, eight, and twelve lines, as well as monorhymed *laisses* or stanzas of irregular length. The lines vary in length; there are verses of six, eight, ten, and twelve syllables, with the couplet of octosyllables and the quatrain of alexandrines abounding.

Of the corpus of versified lives accessible to Paul Meyer he prepared an alphabetical list, published by him in 1906.[5] For the purposes of scholarly investigation a chronological list would be desirable, and this he admitted.

> It would certainly be desirable to classify more or less in chronological order the versified legends, to establish their greatly varying literary value, and to determine whatever element of originality is to be found in them, an element which, though limited, exists nevertheless in a much higher degree than in the lives in prose, since these latter were translated more faithfully from the Latin. The subject taken as a whole would not lack novelty, for the greater part of the legends in verse are still inedited, and very few have been the object of a really adequate study. With a few exceptions, our predecessors have neglected them.

In the quarter of a century that has elapsed since this utterance of Meyer some of the lives recorded by him as inedited have been printed, but there are many still left in the MS.

The alphabetical list of the saints whose legends appear in French verse has these names: St. Agatha, St. Agnes (3 lives), St. Alban, St. Alexius (4 lives and several redactions of the oldest of them), St. Andrew, St. Anthony, St. Aventinus, St. Barbara, St. Bonitus (Bonet) (4 accounts), St. Brendan, St. Catherine of Alexandria (11 accounts), St. Christina (5 accounts), St. Christopher (3 accounts), St. Clement, St. Denis (2 accounts), St. Deodata (Dieudonnée), mother of St. John Chrysostom, St. Dominic, St. Edmund, King of East Anglia (2 accounts), St. Edmund (Archbishop of Canterbury), St. Edward the Confessor (3 accounts), St. Eleutherius, St. Elisabeth of Hungary (4 accounts), St. Eligius, St. Etheldreda, St. Euphrosyne, St. Eustace or Placidas (11 versions), St. Ebrulphus (Evroul), St. Fiacre, St. Fides, St. Francis of Assisi (4 accounts), St. Genevieve, St. George (4 accounts), St. Germerius, St. Giles (Aegidius), St. Gregory the Great (2 accounts), St. Hildebert, St. Ildefonsus (3 accounts), St. James the Greater (preserved only in a prose redaction of a lost poem), St. John the Almsgiver (the Almoner), St. John the Baptist (3 accounts), St. John Chrysostom, St. John the Evangelist (2 accounts), St. John Paulus, St. Justus (S. Josse, 3 accounts), St. Julian the Hospitaler, St. Juliana (2 accounts), St. Laurence, St. Leger, St. Leocadia, St. Lupus, St. Lucy, St. Maglorius, St. Margaret (11 versions), St. Mary of Egypt (4 poems), St. Mary Magdalen (at least 3 versions, and 2 poems on a miracle due to her interposition), St. Marina, St. Martha, St. Martin, St. Mathurin (2 accounts), St. Melania, St. Modwena, St. Moses (of the Thebaid), St. Nicholas (2 accounts), St. Onuphrius, St. Opportuna, St. Ositha (?), St. Paul the Hermit, St. Paula, St. Paulinus (2 lives), St. Quentin (3 lives), St. Regina, St. Remigius, St. Renatus, St. Richard (died 1253, canonized 1262), St. Salvator, St. Sebastian, St. Sylvester, St. Thaïs (3 lives), St. Theobald (2 poems), St. Theophilus (3 poems), St. Thomas à Becket (at least 3 poems), the Blessed Thomas Hélie of Biville, St. Yves.

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[5] In vol. 33 of the *Histoire littéraire de la France.*

Besides the versified accounts of these eighty-four holy figures, we have poems dealing fully with the life of Our Lord and with that of the Blessed Virgin, reflecting not only what is told in the Bible but also the story unfolded in apocrypha, such as the *Protoevangelium Jacobi,* the Gospel of Nicodemus, the Pseudo-Matthew, and similar documents. There is a poem dealing with the Three Marys and one on Phanuel; the latter serves as an introduction to the life of the Blessed Virgin. Of Old Testament figures, Seth (in connection with the legend of the tree from whose wood was made the cross of Christ), Job, Joseph (son of Jacob), and Tobias received attention in individual poems. The story of Our Lord gave prominence to Judas and Pilate, the former of whom is the subject of two accounts. There are three or four accounts of Antichrist. A Christianized version of one of the legends of the Buddha, which made its appearance in the early centuries of the Christian Church, furnished the material for the Old French *Barlaam et Josaphat,* present in three poems. Another old legend of wide dissemination shows itself in an Old French version of the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. We have six poems handling the Vision of St. Paul and seven treating the tradition of the Purgatory of St. Patrick. The Invention of the Cross is the subject of a poem continuing the life of St. Sylvester. The heroic conduct of the Ten Thousand Martyrs of Mt. Ararat is set forth in another poem. Of a wholly fictitious nature are the poems on an apocryphal St. Gregory (two of them), on an unhistorical William, King of England, and on the two devoted comrades, Amicus and Amilius (a couple with the characteristics of Orestes and Pylades); these fanciful verse narratives enjoyed considerable popularity.

Did time permit, we might speak also of the legends of saints in Old French prose; they form a large collection in and for themselves. They were probably prepared for a public of laymen not so illiterate as those for whom the versified accounts were intended; moreover, they supplied preachers with illustrative matter for their sermons and they provided part of the material utilized for public reading in the religious communities at meal times and on other occasions. They began to appear later than the accounts in verse, for hardly any of them can be dated earlier than the thirteenth century, while, as we know, the verse lives run back through the twelfth, eleventh, and tenth centuries even unto the ninth.

J. D. M. Ford.

# EARLIEST CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES IN TEXAS *

Throughout the sixteenth century it may be said that the strongest urge in the exploration of the vast, unknown regions of New Spain, whether north, south, east, or west, was wealth and glory. Renown and easy fortune was the ruling passion of the stern conquistadors. And yet it must be admitted in all justice that the religious influence, that is, the missionary zeal which burned in the hearts of the sons of Saint Francis and their co-workers to convert the numberless thousands of the New World was ever present as evidenced by the missionaries that accompanied every expedition, and that it became in the end a greater urge than purely material or political aims. But the glowing achievements of Cortés and Pizarro were too recent not to exercise an undue influence in the undertakings of Nuño de Guzmán, Alvarado, de Soto, Coronado, Narvaez, Oñate, and all the rest. It took a whole century to disillusion them. Faith in fabulously rich kingdoms like those of the Aztecs and the Incas died slowly, but surely, as a result of repeated dismal failures and disappointments. By the close of the century the material interest shifted gradually from rich native kingdoms to rich mines, while the earnest desire to convert the natives grew ever stronger. The cautious viceroy, Count of Monterey, wrote the king in a matter-of-fact report that the exaggerated claims concerning the wealth of Nuevo Mexico and the extraordinary fertility of its soil were to be taken with a grain of salt:

> It is evident that there are lands and pastures suitable for agriculture and cattle raising, and that the land is not as sterile as the people who abandoned it paint it; nor is it as rich as others would make it out and as the Governor described it in the *relaciones* of the year 1599. . . . Ordinarily the greater part of the land is more sterile than fertile. . . . It is likewise evident that there is a considerable number of Indians, gentle

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> and docile, and greatly inclined, in so far as concerns their manners to our religion, from which much may be expected of their conversion. . . . For this reason it is a very pious cause to make an effort to settle and hold that land.

In summing up the reasons for new efforts and expenditure in the conquest and settlement of this far away land, the viceroy ends by stressing the religious motive as the most worthy.[1]

In proportion as the lure of easy fortunes and fabulous wealth waned, the desire to spread the faith and to bring the numberless natives who roamed the unexplored regions into the fold of the Church, grew with the establishment of new missions and *Colegíos de Propaganda Fide* such as the Holy Cross of Querétaro and Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, destined to carry our faith and the teachings of the Gospel to the remotest confines of Texas. The conquest of the northern part of New Spain, particularly Nuevo León, Coahuila, Texas, and New Mexico was as much the result of true missionary zeal as of love for adventure, glory, and wealth. "The vast enterprise of the conquest," declares a Mexican historian, "should be considered more as the result of the religious spirit of the missionaries than of brute force exercised by those who, sword in hand, proclaimed the rights of Spain." [2]

Throughout the seventeenth century the missionary spirit and zeal, the desire to spread our faith and to carry the comforts of religion to the unfortunate natives was a factor as strong, if not stronger, in many instances in the exploration of the northern provinces of New Spain, as the desire for gain or the fear of foreign aggression. That the last two were present is undeniable, but that the missionary zeal had become an all-consuming passion which at times utilized the other two in order to secure action is equally true.[3] Northern New Spain, therefore, owes much to the missionaries.

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[1] "Discurso y proposicion que se hace á V. M. de lo tocante a los descubrimientos del Nuevo Méjico" in Fernandez Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del Reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882), 13-27.

[2] Portillo, Esteban L., *Apuntes para la historia de Coahuila y Tejas* (Saltillo, 1886), 158.

[3] *Ibid.*, 105-115; León, Alonso de, *Historia de Nuevo León*, published as Vol. XXV, of the *Documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de Mexico*

> If the intrepidity and valor of the Spanish settler in penetrating unknown regions and daring imminent dangers and hardships is laudable and worthy of admiration, the zeal of the evangelical missionaries who, without other arms than a crucifix and a breviary, defied death in the hope of finding at each step the palm of martyrdom is no less admirable.[4]

The advance into present day Texas was slow and unspectacular. Though the driving force that first directed the steps of the explorers was in the beginning the traditional myths of fabulous kingdoms like the Gran Quivira, where "everyone had ordinary dishes made of wrought plate and the jugs and bowls were of gold,"[5] or the hills of the Aijados where gold was so plentiful that the natives "not knowing any of the other metals make of it everything they need, such as vessels and the tips of arrows and lances,"[6] or the Cerro de Plata of which Alonso de León says "a hill they say there is called the silver hill, unknown to those living today and, perhaps, to those of the past. It is found to the north [*of the Rio Grande*]"[7]

A new force soon came into being that was destined to be the determining factor. This was the beautiful tradition of the miraculous visitations that Mother María de Agreda made to the country of the Jumanos and other tribes to the east from about 1626 to 1631, as a result of which the prince or chieftain of this tribe and many Indians were ultimately converted and baptized. It is said that during these years the devout servant of the Lord made frequent visits to this region and instructed the natives in the fundamentals of our faith, preaching to them the love of our Saviour.[8] She commanded them to send for missionaries. Indians complied with her request and we find them taking an unprecedented step in the history of the conquest by sending messengers

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(Mexico, 1909), 214 *passim*; Bolton, Herbert E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), 283-290.

[4] Portillo, *op. cit.*, 131.

[5] Castañeda, *Narrative*, translated by Winship in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, I, 493.

[6] *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, 3rd series, 92.

[7] León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, 84.

[8] Mange, Juan Matheos, *Luz de tierra incognita en la America Septentrional*, issued as one of the *Publicaciones* of the Archivo General de la Nación. Mexico, 1926, X, 185-201.

to the Spanish settlements to ask the missionaries to come and teach them and give them the sacrament of baptism. Repeatedly the Indians from the Jumano country and the tribes to the east of them sent messengers during the seventeenth century to Saltillo, Paso del Norte, Sante Fe, Parral, and even far away Guadalajara to beseech the *Padres* to come and minister to them.[9]

But where was the land of the Jumanos? The country of the Jumanos was located about two hundred leagues southeast from Santa Fe, on a stream which the early explorers called "Nueces", and which was in all probability either one of the upper branches of the present Colorado or the Concho.[10] Somewhat to the south and east of the Jumanos is where they thought the Tejas nation was located. Posadas, the first to give a detailed description of the Tejas, says:

> this nation of the Tejas runs from south to north the entire distance between the Rio del Norte and the Rio de las Nueces [*Colorado*] which must be about 100 leagues. Its width must be as much from east to west. From the limits of this nation to the coast and the Gulf of Mexico there must be about fifty leagues more to the east. This said fifty leagues are occupied by wandering Indians who neither sow nor harvest. . . . On the north this nation is bound by the Quiviras.[11]

As to the people of this kingdom the Bishop of Guadalajara said in a report:

> The people of that nation, which they call Texas, and who, they maintain, live under an organized government, congregate in their pueblos, and are governed by a cacique who is named the Great Lord, as they call the one who rules them all, and who, they say, resides in the interior. They have houses made of wood, cultivate the soil, plant maize and other crops, wear clothes and punish misdemeanors, especially theft. The Coahuiles do not give more detailed reports of the Texas because, they say, they are allowed to go only to the first pueblos of the border, since the Great Lord of the Texas does not permit foreign nations to enter the

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[9] Fernández Duro, *Peñalosa*, 13, 48, 57; Benavides, *Memorial y relación*, in *Land of Sunshine*, 139-140; Portillo, *Apuntes*, 105 *et passim*.

[10] Bolton, H. E., "The Jumano Indians in Texas," in the *Quarterly* of the Southwestern Historical Association, XV, 68-74; Posadas, "Informe", in Fernandez Duro, *Peñalosa*.

[11] Posadas, "Informe", in Fernandez Duro, *Peñalosa*, 57-58.

> interior of his country. There are many of these Coahuile who give the reports, and who say that they got them through having aided the Texas in their wars against the Pauit, another very warlike nation. The Coahuiles once pacified, the Spaniards can reach the land of the Texas without touching the country of enemies.[12]

Such was the land and the people chosen, as it seems, through the miraculous intervention of Mother María de Agreda [13] for the field of missionary endeavor in northern New Spain. Mange writes:

> On one occasion, while praying for the welfare of these souls [*the Indians of Texas*] the Lord took her while in ecstatic contemplation, without her being aware of the means, and it seemed to her that she found herself in a different place and clime, among a people whose nature and disposition had been made known to her in an abstract manner. They were Indians, and it seemed to her that she saw them with her material senses and felt the difference of the clime of the land. While in this condition the Lord commanded her to speak and, preaching to them of her faith, it seemed to her that she was actually doing it in her own language, Spanish, and that the Indians understood her as if she were speaking in theirs; and that though the Indians spoke in their own tongue she understood them with all clearness. She preached to them with marvelous unction and instructed them in our religion. After the ecstacy was over she found herself in the same place where she had been when she first lost her consciousness.[14]

Prior to the apparition of "the woman in blue", as Mother María de Agreda was referred to by the Indians, they were visited by the Spaniards on various occasions, one of the earliest being during the expedition of Don Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, lieutenant-governor of the Nuevo Reino de León. On July 27, 1590, he set out from the Villa del Almaden [15] with a number of soldiers and a train of *carretas* (carts) in search of mines. The expedition followed an easterly direction, crossed the Rio Bravo or del Norte at a place near present Eagle Pass, and explored the region about Las Lajas and as far as the Salado. They found no mines or great wealth and returned after spending more than six months beyond the Rio Grande. It is to be noted that no religious accompanied this expedition and that the Jumanos, if visited, could not have learned much of our religion from this expedition.[16]

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[12] Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690", in *Quarterly* of the Southwestern Historical Association, XVI.

[13] María de Jesús de Agreda was the daughter of Francisco Coronel and Catarina de Arana, both residents of the villa de Agreda in Spain, on the border between Castilla and Aragon. She was born on April 2, 1602. She professed on January 2, 1620, and throughout her life was noted for her great piety, her excessive penance, and her deep devotion. She wrote a number of books, best known of which is her *Ciudad de Dios*. She was subject to fits of ecstacy, during which she remained unconscious and as if dead for several hours. It was during one of these trances that she was transported spiritually to the wilds of Texas. She is said to have made as many as 500 visits to the Indians, the last one having been in 1631. Mange, *Luz de tierra incognita*, 183-201; Benavides, *Memorial*; Vetancourt, *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio*, 1697, 96.

[14] Mange, *Luz de tierra incognita*, 192-93.

In 1695, while in search of the Gran Quivira Juan de Humaña and a party of soldiers were murdered at La Matanza, about 200 miles northeast of Santa Fé. Six years later, in 1601, Juan de Oñate was led by one of the survivors of the massacre to La Matanza. There were eighty men in the expedition and two friars. Many furs and skins of Cibolo were brought back and interest in trade was created, but little else was accomplished.[17] It seems that in 1606, Juan Oñate again undertook an expedition in search of the Gran Quivira and went three hundred miles to the east. He describes the plains of Cibola and how with the help of the Aijados (a supposed Texas tribe) entered the kingdom of Quivira but was forced to abandon its conquest because of the small number of his followers and the hostile character of the Quiviras.[18]

But our interest is in the Jumanos and the Tejas. The first recorded journey to the former is that of Father Juan de Salas, who in 1629 made a visit to them in compliance with the request received while engaged in missionary work among the Indians settled in the vicinity of Albuquerque.[19] The delegation sent to Father Salas was the first to relate the story of the miraculous apparitions of Mother María de Agreda among their people and her command to call missionaries to instruct them in the faith. The date coincides with the original accounts of her visitations.[20] Father Salas set out with three soldiers and Fray Diego López and traveled about one hundred miles east of Santa Fé till he came upon a multitude of Indians. While among them he received messengers from the Aijados and the Quiviras asking him to come to their country and instruct them in our religion. He lost no time in returning to Santa Fé to solicit aid to establish missions among these people who were so anxious to be congregated in pueblos the better to receive instruction.[21]

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[15] Almaden was first founded in 1590 but was abandoned and refounded on three different occasions. It is more or less on the site of present Monclova. It was from there that the Bosque-Larios expedition set out in 1675 for Texas. León, *Historia de Nuevo León.*

[16] For a complete account, day by day, of this expedition see *Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias,* IV, 283-354.

[17] Posadas, "Informe."

[18] *Ibid.,* 59.

In 1632, Father Salas, accompanied by Fray Diego de Ortega again set out for the Jumano country. They took a few soldiers with them for protection and soon reached their destination, from where after a short stay Father Salas returned to New Mexico, leaving Fray Diego de Ortega among the Jumanos. Fray Ortega stayed with them for six months and visited the country as far as the Nueces (Colorado).[22]

In 1634, Alonso de Vaca left Santa Fé in search of the Gran Quivira and following an easterly course for three hundred miles reached the "Rio Grande," meaning the Mississippi, where he was told by his Indian allies the kingdom of Gran Quivira began. He did not cross the river, however, feeling that his force was not strong enough. In the account of his journey he says, "on the banks of the Rio Grande del Norte begins the nation called Tejas", thus confirming the general idea held at that time as to the location of these Indians.[23]

It was not until 1650 that definite and concrete knowledge concerning the Texas Indians was at last obtained. In that year

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[19] Benavides, *Memorial,* 1630; Hodge, "The Jumano Indians," in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1910.

[20] Mange, *Luz de tierra incognita,* 183-201; Benavides, *Memorial,* 1630; Vetancourt, *Chronica,* 96.

[21] Benavides, *Memorial,* 1630; Vetancourt, *Chronica.*

[22] Posadas, "Informe."

[23] *Ibid.,* 61.

> Captain Hernan Martin and Captain Diego del Castillo with other soldiers and some Christian Indians set out from the villa de Santa Fé with orders from General Hernando de la Concha, Governor at the time of the province of New Mexico, and after traveling about two hundred leagues in a different direction [*from that followed by de Vaca?*], they arrived at this site of the Rio de las Nueces [*Colorado*] and the nation of the Jumanos, where they remained for six months, both because of the friendliness of the Indians and the abundance of provisions. During the six months they remained there, they took from the river a quantity of oysters that when burned left a few pearls which, if not of extra fine quality because of being taken from fresh water, still were pearls. The said captains explored the river down stream in an easterly and southerly direction into the land of the Indians called Cuitaos, Escanjaques and Aijados, and after traveling about fifty leagues, they came upon the limits of the nation called Tejas which they did not enter because they realized its vast extent and its many peoples.[24]

Upon their return to Santa Fé they showed the pearls gathered to the governor, who immediately dispatched them to Mexico City by Fray Antonio de Aranda. The pearls created considerable interest in the land just visited and orders were consequently issued for a new expedition, which set out from Santa Fé in 1654, under Diego de Guadalajara, who accompanied by thirty soldiers and two hundred Indian allies made his way to the Jumano country again. He dispatched Andrés López with twelve men and some Christians ahead to ascertain the disposition of the Cuitaos. The small party encountered the enemy about thirty leagues beyond and had a hard fight, in which they took two hundred prisoners as well as many deer and buffalo skins.[25]

The significance of these two expeditions in which no missionaries took part, the only religious element being the Christian Indians taken as guides and interpreters, is the knowledge which was gained of the Jumano country and of the Texas Indians and their neighbors, all of which was useful in the subsequent efforts of the missionaries to enter this territory. Even the sordid passion for material gain and fortune was utilized by the missionaries to arouse interest in taking possession of the land they had so long desired to enter. Thus the religious zeal and fervor did not disdain to use the lure of mythical wealth to secure the material help and support necessary to bring into the fold of the Church the numberless natives that roamed the boundless plains of Texas.

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[24] *Ibid.*, 67.

[25] *Ibid.*, 57.

The approaches to Texas so far discussed are mainly from New Mexico as a base. The first man to cross into Texas territory in the lower Rio Grande was Fernando de Azcué, *Alcalde Mayor* of the villa de Saltillo, who in 1665 set out to chastise the Indians. For some time the frontier settlements of New Spain had been suffering from the incursions of the Indians who, not content with plundering the outposts such as Monclova, Cerralvo, and Monterey, carried their depredations as far inland as Chihuahua. It was agreed, therefore, to organize an expedition with troops from both Monterey and Saltillo. This was placed under the command of Azcué, who set out with one hundred and three soldiers, eight hundred horses, and seventy *cargas* (cartloads) of provisions. The expedition was joined on its way to the Rio Grande by three hundred Bobole Indians under Nicolás el Carretero. The interpreter was Ambrosio Cepeda, an Indian who had the reputation of knowing all the dialects used by the different tribes in the section of the country they were to visit. After six days' journey they were about twenty-four leagues beyond the Rio Grande, still searching for the Cataxtle Indians. Here they met the enemy, who took refuge in a small thicket, where they held the Spanish force at bay during the whole day. After the " big fight ", as the engagement was called, it was found that one hundred enemy Indians were killed and seventy prisoners, young and old, taken. The Spaniards had twenty-two wounded. During the engagement an old Indian woman had encouraged the Cataxtles to fight by playing on a flute. After the battle the Indian allies asked the Spanish captain to turn the old woman over to them for a feast they wished to hold that night. " The petition was refused, but they having learned that a young boy among the captives was a relative of hers, took possession of him secretly that night, and, without anybody knowing about it, they ate him, a thing which could not be avoided," adds the chronicler, and the reader can judge of the state of affairs even among the allies.[26]

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[26] León, *Historia de Nuevo León*, 228-230.

Real missionary work among the Tejas Indians, however, may be said to begin with the work of Fr. Juan de Larios. "The pioneers in this advance were the missionaries," [27] declares Bolton; and it may be added that the first of these pioneers was Father Larios, a Franciscan friar of the province of Santiago de Jalisco, who was the first to carry his missionary endeavors beyond the lower Rio Grande.[28] It was while on his way from Atoyac to Durango that Father Larios was much surprised at the end of his second day's journey to find himself suddenly surrounded by a host of Indians. The good friar thought his hour had come and prepared to die, but greater still was his surprise to find that the Indians instead of falling upon him with their arms, came up to him and devoutly kissed his garments and asked his blessing. After a conversation in the conventional sign language, there being no interpreter, Father Larios was given to understand that they were friendly Indians who desired him to accompany them to their land to teach and baptize them. He in turn told them that he would be glad to go with them but that he had to send word to his provincial to inform him of the reasons for not going to Durango. Word was consequently sent to Fr. Juan Mohedano, the provincial at Guadalajara, and Father Larios went on with the Indians to their country.

The first word he heard as he entered the new lands was "Coahuila", a name which he gave to the first mission he found there and which it is said to mean *flying serpent*. In entering the land, Father Larios observed that he had traveled to the northeast. He remained among his friends for three years and did not return to Guadalajara until 1673.[29]

He soon returned to his beloved flock, bringing back with him three other missionaries; Fr. Esteban Martínez, Fr. Manuel de la

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[27] Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest 1542-1706*, 284.

[28] Frejes, Fr. Francisco, *Historia breve de la conquista de los estados independientes*, 208-215; Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia de Coahuila y Tejas*, (Saltillo, 1886) 140-142; Mota Padilla, *Conquista del reino de la Nueva Galicia en la America Septentrional*, 379-386.

[29] For the full account of the story of Father Larios' first visit to Coahuila and the Rio Grande country see any of the references cited in note 28.

Cruz, and Fr. Juan Barrero. With the aid of Captain Elisondo he founded a mission on the Sabine river (in Coahuila) and one to the north of this river.[30] In one of his expeditions it is said that Father Manuel de la Cruz crossed the Rio Grande, where he came in contact with the three Texas tribes.[31]

Indian hostilities all along the frontier had increased during the latter years in spite of the missionary efforts of Father Larios and his companions and it was decided that Coahuila be formally settled as a measure of defense and protection. The conquest of this province had been up to this time spiritual, it was now to become material as well. On May 11, 1674, the Audiencia of Guadalajara formally appointed Antonio Balcárcel Riva de Neira Sotomayor, *Alcalde Mayor* of the province of Coahuila, the latter having agreed to enter the said province and undertake its settlement at his own cost.[32] The new settlers were enjoined to avoid friction with the natives " who with so much love appear to have embraced our holy Catholic faith through the efforts of our missionaries who from this province have been sent to work for their conversion." [33]

The new governor lost no time in carrying out his contract and by November 23, 1674, less than six months after his appointment, he had established the new town of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe on the former villa de Almaden, thrice abandoned. Here with the help of Father Larios and his companions two different settlements or missions were established, where the various Indians were congregated. Desirous of cutting the principal evil at the root, he decided upon an expedition into the Indian country beyond Guadalupe for the purpose of making peace with them and of learning more about them.[34]

To lead the expedition he chose Fernando del Bosque, who, in company with Father Larios and Father Dionisio de San Buenaventura and a number of troops, were to go as far as the Dacate mountains and visit such other places as he might deem advisable for the better service of His Majesty. He was also to visit all places to which he was invited by the natives. The Indians were to be congregated in towns and settled in order that they might more easily receive instruction from the missionaries concerning our holy faith. He was to bring back a full and complete description of the rivers, their location, the character of the country, and the nature of its mountains; to take royal possession of each and every place visited and draw up the corresponding *auto* or testimony in due form; and to make a full report of the number of the various tribes or nations encountered, including all the men and women, young and old.[35] The significance of the expedition is clear. It is the first well authenticated missionary undertaking to cross the Rio Grande and make a reliable report on conditions beyond it in the region below the Pecos. Formal missionary activities in Texas may be said to date from the *entrada* of Fernando del Bosque and Father Juan Larios.

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[30] Frejes, *Historia Breve de la Conquista*, 208-218; Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia*, 140-142.

[31] Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 285; Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia*, 45-46.

[32] Portillo, *Apuntes para la historia*, 45.

[33] *Ibid.*, 46.

[34] *Ibid.*, 46-100.

It would take too long to give all the details of this expedition, the diary of which is available in printed form in English.[36] Only a brief summary of the more significant incidents will be related.

The expedition set out from Guadalupe on April 30, 1675. It consisted of Fernando del Bosque, Fr. Juan Larios, Fr. Dionisio de San Buenaventura, ten Spanish soldiers, Lazaro Augustín, the Indian interpreter and governor of the Indian Pueblo of San Miguel de Luna, Juan de la Cruz, of the Bobole nation, an ensign, twenty Boboles, and one hundred Indians armed with bows and arrows of the Queiquesale nation who joined the expedition at the Nadadores river. By the fifth of May the expedition reached the Sabinas River (Coahuila). After formally taking possession of the river which he found "unoccupied and uninhabited", he erected a high cross made of wood and had the Christian doctrine taught to the Indians by the commissary.[37] He named the river San Antonio.

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[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 291-309.

[37] For the account of the Bosque-Larios given here, the translation of the

On the eleventh of the same month the expedition appears to have reached the Rio Grande del Norte, which del Bosque named San Buenaventura del Norte. The country and place of crossing they describe as follows:

> Having travelled northward apparently about three leagues through plains with much mesquite, and with fine pastures of green grass, I arrived at a copious and very wide river, with a current more than four hundred *varas* across, which the Indians said was called Rio del Norte. I found it unoccupied and uninhabited, with only *rancherías* of Indians, consisting of dwellings of grass huts after their custom. Having passed up stream in search of a ford and not having found one, as it is very deep, the said Indians decided to take us across at a place where the river forms three branches. It was necessary to make a raft of poles to cross the middle one, having forded the first, which is more than two hundred *varas* wide and a *vara* and a half deep, with the water above the stirrup and near the hind bow of the saddle, with a current the whole width, and with willow and osier brush on a little island which is in the middle. On its banks it is very pleasing, and it had many fish, such as catfish, *piltontes,* very large turtles, and eels, all of which were caught in my presence, and which, I certify, I took in my hands. I took royal possession of the river and its territory in the name of His Majesty. It runs, apparently, from west to east. And for said settlement and conquest I named it San Buenaventura River; and as evidence of possession I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected; and religious instruction was given to the Indians by the father chaplain.

This long quotation gives us an idea of the form used in taking possession and of the type of description that was entered in the diary day by day. The information is very full and is of great value, being one of the first descriptions taken on the ground itself. The Rio Grande, according to their account of the leagues travelled, was sixty-one leagues from Guadalupe.

On the fourteenth, about seven leagues from the Rio Grande, they found a watering place "in a plain without any trees except mesquite groves." It was here that they killed and ate their first buffalo. In my presence there were killed, declares del Bosque

> by said Indians and Spaniards three buffalo bulls and two buffalo cows

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Diary of this expedition in Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest,* 291-309, was used exclusively.

> for the people to eat. The meat is very savory. The form of the buffalo is very ugly. Although large, they resemble cows and bulls. Their hair is shaggy. The withers are very high, making them appear humpback, and their necks are large. The head is short and very shaggy, so that the wool covers the eyes and prevents them from seeing well. The horns are small and thick, but like those of the bull. The hips and haunches are like those of a hog, and the tail is bare except at the end, where there are long bristles. The hoofs are cloven, and at the knees and from there up to the shoulder there is much bristle-like hair, like he-goats. They gaze at the people sidewise like wild hogs, with hair abristle. They are of the size of cattle.

On this day we find evidence of the frequency with which some of the Indians that lived beyond the Rio Grande had been in the habit of going to Saltillo. There

> appeared Juan, an Indian of the Bibit nation, and chief of it, and said that he was a Christian, having been baptized at the Villa of Saltillo, and another Indian, a heathen, who said he was chief of the Jume nation . . . and having asked them various questions, they said that for a long time they had desired to become Christians, and that some of them having gone to the Villa of Saltillo, had succeeded, but that to the rest it has been impossible because of being distant and unable to take out their people, of which many had died from smallpox without receiving the water of baptism; and that they requested this, and desired to settle in pueblos and be under instruction in the Christian doctrine.

This is typical of almost every one of the places where the expedition visited.

On the fifteenth there is a description of the agreement of several chiefs with all their followers to become Christians and to be congregated in a pueblo. There

> appeared the chiefs Xoman, Terrodan, Teaname, and Teimamar, with their people. I had them examined through sworn interpreters who understand their language, Mexican [probably aztec], and Castilian, named Don Lasaro Agustin, governor of the Pueblo of San Miguel de Luna of the city of Guadalupe of this province, and an Indian named Pascual. Various questions having been asked these chiefs, each one separately, they said unanimously and in agreement that they were heathen; that in their lives they [*never*] had seen Spaniards; and had lived as heathen without knowledge that there was a God, or who He was, and without knowledge of the true way to salvation, and in the dark regarding it; that they wished to be Christians and be baptized, with their

> children and wives, and to live as such in a pueblo or pueblos . . . and that at once they were rendering and did render obedience to his Majesty the King or lord Don Carlos II; and that they would be friends of the Spaniards. Thereupon they shouted *Viva, viva, viva, the king our lord.*

After having administered the oath of allegiance to them in the name of the king:

> At once their people approached, and both men and women devotedly kissed the sleeves of the habits of the fathers, the commisary, Fray Juan Larios, and chaplain Fray Dionisio de San Buenaventura; and they asked permission to give them as alms something of what they possessed, as a mark of gratitude to God for having opened to them the way to the truth. And at once they began throwing things upon the ground, some a piece of tallow, others hides or skins of animals, of the kind with which they clothe themselves or cover themselves, and in which they sleep.

The first authentic report of the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass on Texas soil is found in this Diary. Though the expedition crossed the Rio Grande on the fifth of May, there is no mention of the celebration of Mass until the sixteenth. On this day the party was still at a place which they called San Ysidro and which must have been on one of the branches of the Nueces river, called by the Indians Ona:

> I, said lieutenant *Alcalde mayor,* certify that this day there was erected in said post a portable altar, and that it was prepared to say Mass; and at a signal made with a small bell the people came to hear it. It was chanted by the father commissary missionary, Fray Juan de Larios, and was attended by all the people. After it was concluded they asked the said father to baptize them; and when they were given to understand by him through an interpreter that he could not baptize them until they knew their prayers, to console them he baptized fifty-five infants, the Spaniards acting as their godfathers. They were instructed in the doctrine and counted, and the people of the four chiefs named in the preceding *auto* were found to comprise four hundred and twenty-five warriors and seven hundred and forty-seven women, boys, and girls, of all ages, making in all eleven hundred and seventy-two persons.

In the statement made above about this being the first high Mass, the reason why it was not mentioned before was, perhaps, the fact that they did not consider it extraordinary to hold regular low Mass. It is to be noted particularly in the description just cited concerning the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism that contrary to the grossly unfounded assertion that the missionaries, in their zeal and fervor, often baptized thousands of Indians without giving them adequate instruction to prepare them for the sacrament, Father Larios refused to baptize the grown children and adults " until they knew their prayers."

On the twenty-first, Father Larios ordered an altar erected in order that Father Dionisio de San Buenaventura could say Mass. This service was attended by the Indians of the Ceniocane nation which made a total of one hundred and seventy-eight persons. The *padres* were consistently beseeched to baptize the Indians, but they consistently refused, putting them off by saying that they had to learn their prayers first. The farthest point reached by the expedition was a point which they called San Pablo Hermitaño and which has been located in the present Edwards County. It was on a small arroyo " with heavy timber, between some knolls and high hills (like nipples)." This place they reached on the twenty-fifth of May and after spending four days there they started back on the twenty-ninth, but apparently followed a different route, for they " arrived at another place on the River of San Buenaventura del Norte " where they found part of the Bobole Indians with their women and children. Evidently on the return they crossed the Rio Grande above the former place, as the Bobloe nation was in the habit of ranging farther up north.

On the twelfth of June, del Bosque and his expedition reached Guadalupe, where he made formal report to Don Antonio de Balcarcel Riba de Neira Sotomayor as follows:

> Having gone at his orders to reconnoitre the nations of Indians of the following of Don Esteban Gueiquesale, who lived toward the Sierra Dacate and in its vicinity, and the others of their district and neighborhood, they manifested before his Majesty, through me and their messengers, that they wish to settle in pueblos and be Christians, with religious to catechise and instruct them. And having passed through the length and breadth of the country which appears in the records, and having seen it and its inhabitants, I have learned that they are divided into three followings or bands, each very numerous, since the least numerous, although wild and the most bellicose, is that of the following of Don Esteban Gueiquesale, which are the nations counted, excepting the Yoricas,

Jumees, Vivit, and Jeniocanes, who belong with the Boboles, Catujanos, and Tilijaes, of the districts already stated; and of the great discord between them, from which they kill and eat each other and capture each other's children, for they say this, being now actually at war with each other, the band of Don Esteban with that of the Jeniocanes and their allies, and the Yoricas, Jumees, and Vivit with the Arames, Ocanes, and those of their following, and the Boboles with the Yurbipames. These tiers of people are very numerous and their limits or that of one with another is not known, for neither on the north nor on the east is there any report of their terminus.

For this reason these Indians begged me to go to see their rancherías and those of their allies; and they have said that they wished to be Christians, and that all wish it, and to settle in pueblos, and to ask for religious; and they wish that aid be given to each one separately and not together, for it happens that for very slight causes they kill each other, and conditions become bad. I decided, therefore, to return from said post of San Jorge, counting on the way the people of Don Esteban who might be on the road, to inform said *alcalde mayor,* which I now do, both of this as well as that unless for these three bands or followings of people three head settlements be made, in which each shall be regarded as independent of the other—one in the valley of San Antonio and Sabinas River, which will accommodate many settlements, and another at Los Baluartes and San Francisco River, which is of the same sort, and the one which is already made at the city of Guadalupe—it will not be possible to maintain these nations under instruction in the Christian doctrine. For they are people, one extremely barbarous, and the others barbarous, who have shown bad conduct toward the Spaniards and other vassals of his Majesty in La Viscaia, the Kingdom of Leon, and in part of La Galicia, robbing and killing for more than twenty years.

Even less will it be possible for any officer of his Majesty to keep them in order and under instruction unless he has forces for it, although he may have to use much love and blandishment when having to correct them, for since they are vicious people and not habituated to labor to sustain themselves, they will return to their natural habits, and greater damages will result. And there will not be Spaniards who wish to settle in the country, for it is known that those who entered it have left with misgivings or fears which some have been spreading abroad.

The most important post found in which to establish forces is Santa Crus, since it is fourteen leagues from the valley of San Antonio, a little less from Los Baluartes, and twenty from the city of Guadalupe, and in the heart and centre of the country. These forces will not be sufficient if less than seventy men, since it is very remote from settlements and aid, for that of the Villa of Saltillo is more than sixty-eight leagues away, and the Kingdom of Leon the same, these being the nearest. Likewise, ministers of the gospel are necessary, since these nations ask for them; and they do not wish to have those of one nation attend the others, because they are of different languages, the people numerous, and their homes far apart. There are necessary for the present at least four religious for each group, if his Majesty, God preserve him, is pleased to have it settled and given seed grain, oxen, and some families of Tlaxacalteco Indians.

This report I make to said *alcalde mayor* on the basis of what I have seen and observed, and of my experience of more than twenty years with barbarian natives and others. And in order that it may be on record I set it down as an *auto,* which I signed with the witnesses assisting me, who were Diego Luis Sanches and Ambrosio de Verlanga.

From this time on missionary activity, though it lagged, never died out, until it finally culminated in the permanent establishment of missions first in East Texas and later in and around the Presidio of San Antonio de Bexar. The expedition led by Alonso de León in 1688, so generally believed to have been the beginning of actual missionary work in Texas, was rather a culmination of the efforts of Father Juan Salas, of Father Diego de Ortega, of Father Juan Larios, of Father Dionisio de San Buenaventura and of many others, each of which unostentatiously labored for the praise and glory of God in the remote and unexplored regions of Texas at various times.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA.

# ADMIRAL PIERRE LANDAIS

The names of Lafayette, Steuben, Kalb, and other foreign officers of high rank who served in the Continental army, are familiar to all students of American history, while the name of the one foreigner, Pierre Landais, a Frenchman and a Catholic, who was of the highest rank in the Continental navy, is little remembered. There are good reasons for this obscurity, for Landais was in most respects a "failure", an eccentric man, who was his own worst enemy. The story of a "failure" has its uses, especially in a country that worships success. Participating in the two great Revolutions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century and associating with some of their noted characters, Landais had a varied and interesting career. Much of the information respecting him is conflicting and it is often necessary to disentangle, as best one may, the truth from the fiction. In this fresh appraisal, with its new information, a fuller account of his life than hitherto written is presented.

Landais was born about the year 1731 and entered the Continental navy in 1777. Of the forty-six intervening years not much is certainly known. An account of his life, written in 1828, eight years after his death, by Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York City, who had been acquainted with him, was long accepted as authentic and not a few writers have used its graceful phrases to ornament their narratives. A close examination of this shows it to be more or less romanticised. Its author, a literary man, either drew upon his fancy or followed the decorative remembrances of his subject, who occasionally did not scruple to embroider the facts. Of Landais's early life Verplanck wrote as follows:

> Admiral Pierre de Landais [was] a cadet of the family of a younger son of the youngest branch of one of the oldest, proudest, and poorest families in Normandy. He had regularly studied in the *École de la Marine* and was thoroughly instructed in the mathematical theories of sailing and building a ship. . . . In consequence of his grandfather having exhausted his patrimony in a splendid exhibition of fire works for the

> entertainment of Madame de Pompadour, he had neither interest at court nor money to purchase court favor. He was therefore kept in the situation of an *aspirant* or midshipman until he was thirty-two years old, and was kept, I know not how many years more, in the humble rank of *sous lieutenant*. He served his country faithfully and with great good will until in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI a page of the mistress of the Count de Vergennes came down to Cherbourg to be his captain. While he was boiling with indignation at this affront the war between England and America broke out and he seized that opportunity to enter the service of the United States.[1]

Truth will probably not suffer if what Verplanck says about Madame de Pompadour, the page of the mistress of Count de Vergennes, and the Norman descent is deleted.[2] Landais says he was born in St. Malo, Brittany. Entering the French navy in 1763, he saw service in several of its minor ranks. In 1766-1769 he was with the celebrated French navigator Bougainville in a voyage of discovery around the world, and was rated as an *officier marchand,* or supercargo, on the ship *Etoile.* Occasionally he commanded the boat of his vessel on exploring expeditions and there are other indications that he was a useful officer during the voyage of circumnavigation.[3] He took much satisfaction in this cruise and late in life liked to recall its incidents and tell the well-known story about the sheep at the Cape of Good Hope whose tails were so long they had to be supported on wheels. In 1773 he was appointed captain of a fire-ship (*capitaine de brûlot*) and later lieutenant of the port of Brest. About 1775 he was discharged from the French navy, Franklin said, because of his temper; Landais in a *Memorial* (Boston, 1784) said, because of dissatisfactions. Silas Deane represented him as desirous of leaving the French for the American service and making a settlement and establishing a family in America.[4]

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[1] *Talisman*, New York (1828), pp. 329-330.

[2] The only member of the Landais family to attain encyclopedic rank, before the American Revolution, was Pierre Landais, who was born in the fifteenth century in Vitré, Brittany, the son of a tailor. He became a favorite of Francis II, duke of Brittany, who made him head of the finances of the dukedom. Conspired against by his enemies, he was executed at Nantes, July 18, 1485 (Paul Paris—Jallobert, "Le Chateau Landais à Vitré" in *Revue de Bretagne,* XXXII, 101-133, 258-278; *La Grande Encyclopedie,* XXI, 860). One may conjecture that Admiral Landais was a descendant of the favorite.

[3] L. A. de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde* (1772), I, pp. xlii, 278, 308.

The date of Landais's entrance into the American service can be definitely fixed, March 1, 1777, on which day Silas Deane, the American Commissioner at Paris, gave him a captain's commission and directed him to take command of the French merchantman *Flamand,* then at Marseilles, loaded with military supplies destined for America. Greatly delayed in sailing, the *Flamand* arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., on December 1, after a stormy voyage of sixty-six days, which had been enlivened by a mutiny among the crew—a chronic trouble on board Landais's ships. Among the passengers was Baron Steuben, who was soon to set about his task of organizing the Continental army, and two of that officer's aides-de-camp. In 1779 Congress voted Landais a gratuity of 12,000 livres in consideration of the services he had rendered in transporting the military supplies, at no small personal risk.[5]

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[4] F. Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, II, 200. According to Landais's account in his *Memorial* he entered the French navy as a lieutenant of a frigate and six months later was dangerously wounded in an engagement. A month after he was made *captaine de brûlot* he was promoted captain of the line-of-battle ship *Flamand*, a preferment that aroused the jealousy of his fellow officers. Consequently on a change of ministry he was demoted and a promise of the cross of St. Louis was withdrawn. John Paul Jones found little truth in this statement of his rival as may be seen from an extract from *Charges and Proofs respecting the Conduct of Peter Landais*, prepared by Jones and first published in the New York *Daily Advertiser*, November-December, 1787:

"He imposed himself on America as having been captain of a ship of the line in the navy of France; but the fact rather appears to be that having been placed under the *Capitaine du Port*, or *Master Attendant* of the Port of Brest, he was not in line of promotion of the corps of officers of the marine (*Capitaine de Brûlot* and several other subaltern grades, having no affinity to the respective duty required of those under officers in that service, are in the same predicament), and therefore he never had and could not have attained the rank of *lieutenant de vaisseau*, or even ensign in the Royal Navy. After he had given ten years' trial of his temper and talents he had been dismissed from the service of France without honor or a pension. . . . This pretended line of battle ship was nothing but an old transport vessel that had been condemned and disarmed as unfit for war." (*Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 15, 1787). Jones's statement that the captaincy of a fire-ship was not a regular line officer is correct.

[5] *Journals of Continental Congress*, new ed., XIII, 288.

Early in 1778 Landais applied for a command in the Continental navy.[6] The Marine Committee of Congress refused his request on the ground that to grant it would do an injustice to several other commanders. Not discouraged by this rebuff, he proceeded to Philadelphia to present his case in person to the committee, carrying with him letters of recommendation from Deane and Steuben. "I find him to be a skilful seaman of long experience in every part of the world," Deane wrote, "of good judgment, and the most unsuspicious honor and probity. I can but consider him as a valuable acquisition to our navy." [7]

Impressed by Landais's credentials and his efforts in bringing the *Flamand* to America, the committee made a favorable report to Congress and that body on May 9 resolved that Captain Landais should be continued as a captain in the navy of the United States, and six weeks later chose him to command the new frigate *Alliance,* then building at Salisbury, Mass., and named in honor of the French-American alliance.[8] It further showed its confidence in him by adopting his recommendation to reduce the 74-gun ship building at Portsmouth to two-decker of 56 guns. The latter half of 1778 Landais was in New England, fitting, officering, and manning the *Alliance,* not an easy task, as Frenchmen were not liked in the Continental navy. Two lieutenants left the service rather than serve under him. Burning his French bridges and wholeheartedly accepting the American cause, Landais on October 15, 1778, was naturalized as a citizen of Massachusetts.[9]

Finally a motley crew of indifferent seamen, composed of British deserters and prisoners and French and American sailors, was obtained, and on January 11, 1779, the *Alliance* sailed from Boston, with Lafayette as a passenger. When only a few days from France plans for a mutiny among the crew were discovered and thirty-eight of the conspirators were arrested. They had intended to place Landais in irons and set him adrift in a boat without food or drink. The *Alliance* arrived at Brest on February 6.[10]

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[6] *Publications of the Naval History Society,* IV, 222.

[7] *Deane Papers, Colls. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* (1887), II, 122.

[8] *Journals of Continental Congress,* XI, 484-485, 555, 625.

[9] E. C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress,* III, 305, 353; *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves,* V, 972.

Franklin, the American minister at Paris, who had an oversight of the naval vessels in European waters, planned to send the *Alliance* home as she was weakly manned, and John Adams, desirous of returning to America, proposed to take passage on board her. For several weeks while awaiting her sailing, Adams saw Landais almost daily and jotted down in his diary his impressions of the volatile Frenchman. After making proper allowance for Adams's chronic bias for the adverse side, these remain excellent evidence of Landais's character:

> Our captain talks much about Batavia—is an admirer of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. This gentleman has been disappointed in love, and in his ambition; disappointed in the promotion to which he aspired, and in a marriage of which he thought himself sure. He has not so much activity, despatch, and decision, as I could wish. He seems not to know how to gain or preserve the affections of his officers, nor yet how to keep them in awe. . . . Whether it is his imperfect knowledge of the language, or his absence of mind, when poring upon his disappointments, or any defect in his temper or judgment, I know not, but this happy mixture seems to be wanting. . . . Landais is jealous of every thing, jealous of everybody, of all his officers, all his passengers; he knows not how to treat his officers, nor his passengers, nor anybody else. Silence, reserve, and a forbidding air will never gain the hearts, neither by affection nor by veneration, of our Americans. There is in this man an inactivity and an indecision that will ruin him; he is bewildered—an absent, bewildered man, an embarrassed mind. . . . The captain is not of an accommodating humor nor temper. His resolutions when taken are without conditions or exceptions, and unalterable as one would think, yet sometimes too easily and too entirely altered. . . . Landais said honor and delicacy are his second God—He shall die poor and despised, not by those who know him. This is an honest man; but chagrin and disappointment are visible in every thing about him; he is incapable of all art; has no address or dexterity at all in managing men. . . . Landais will never accomplish any great thing. He has honor, delicacy, integrity, and I doubt not courage and skill and experience, but he has not art. . . . Landais said that mathematicians were never good company; that mathe-

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[10] G. W. Allen, *Naval History of American Revolution*, II, 439-441; "Observations upon Certain Parts of American History," p. 18, by a friend of Lafayette, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

> matics made a man unhappy; that they never were good writers. I said no, nor the lawyers; it had been often observed that lawyers could not write. Landais said that observation is not just. . . . This man has a littleness in his mien and air; his face is small and sharp, so that you form a mean opinion of him from the first sight; yet his eye is good. He maintained a good character among the American prisoners; and you find by close conversation with him that he has a good deal in him of knowledge.[11]

Many of the weaknesses set down by Adams, indecision, vacillation, jealousy, and artlessness, Landais's conduct in the succeeding months abundantly illustrates. That he possessed a delicacy and a high sense of honor observers are generally agreed, as they are also that his imperfect knowledge of the English language was a serious impediment to his service in the Continental navy. Quite unexpectedly his character was shortly subjected to a searching test. In April, 1779, at the request of the French government, Franklin changed the destination of the *Alliance* and ordered her to join the squadron of John Paul Jones, then fitting for sea at L'Orient.[12] Most of the qualities that Landais lacked, Jones possessed in excess. That two men so unlike should work together harmoniously was not possible. A clash between them was not long delayed. In a preliminary cruise in June the *Alliance* ran afoul of the *Bon Homme Richard,* Jones's flagship, the first night out of port, and Jones accused his subordinate of taking no steps to prevent the collision. In the main cruise in August-September, culminating in the memorable battle off Flamborough Head, the two officers on several occasions disclosed their implacable hatred of each other. Landais disregarded Jones's signals, separated from the squadron when he chose, and in other respects was guilty of gross insubordination. During the early part of the battle he remained out of danger, firing a few shots, and during the latter part fired only a few broadsides that did more damage to the

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[11] John Adams, *Works*, III, 199-208.

[12] F. Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, III, 187. For the events of 1779-1780, see, in addition to Wharton, vol. III, E. E. Hale and E. E. Hale, *Franklin in France*, I, 319-341, and J. H. Sherburne, *Life and Character of John Paul Jones* (1851), pp. 85-197.

Americans than to the British. Not a man was killed or wounded on the *Alliance,* while the loss on the *Bon Homme Richard* was more than one third of her complement. Landais's strange conduct may be ascribed, possibly, to timidity, or to bewilderment, or to unwillingness to aid a hated rival.[13] The chance of a life-time to win great distinction found him wanting.

When Jones reached Holland with his prizes, the differences between himself and his subordinate became acute. Each wrote to Franklin making charges against the other. Inclined to blame Landais with the great loss of life on Jones's ships, the French government requested Franklin to call him to account. He came to Paris and Franklin investigated the charges against him, but satisfactory evidence could not be obtained either to prove or to disprove them. Franklin therefore referred the dispute to Congress and a properly constituted court-martial in America, believing that his investigation had at least prevented a duel; Landais, who was master of the small sword, was the challenger. Jones, it is said, prudently declined to meet him. Landais did fight with one of Jones's captains, Cottineau, and dangerously wounded him.[14]

The winter of 1779-1780 Landais spent at Paris, fretting over his grievances, especially the loss of the *Alliance,* command of which Franklin had given to Jones. He raised the question whether the American minister had the right to remove him from a command to which Congress had appointed him. Irritated by the Frenchman's importunities, Franklin replied that if he had twenty ships of war at his disposition he would not give one of them to Captain Landais. "I think you then," he wrote "so imprudent, so litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success are where you preside impossible."[15]

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[13] Verplanck's defense is ingenious: "I venture to assert, *meo periculo,* and on the authority of one of my uncles, who was in that action as a lieutenant to Paul Jones, that Landais erred not through any defect of bravery, but merely from his desire to approach his enemy scientifically, by bearing down upon the hypotenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh 'manoeuvre' of his old text-book." *Talisman,* p. 330.

[14] *Fanning's Narrative* (*Publ. Nav. Hist. Soc.* Vol. II), p. 62.

Landais now went to L'Orient where Jones was preparing the *Alliance* for her return to America and where he found sympathizers on shore as well as on shipboard. Encouraged by Arthur Lee and Commodore Alexander Gillon, of the South Carolina navy, he contrived a plot for supplanting Jones. Going on board the *Alliance* during the temporary absence of his rival, he took possession of her, sent ashore all unfriendly officers, weighed anchor, and came to rest in a position safe from the interference of the ship's infuriated commander. Notwithstanding the efforts of Jones, Franklin, and the French government to prevent his sailing, he put to sea, leaving behind many of the military stores intended for his ship. Landais and Arthur Lee had outwitted Jones and Franklin.

Landais's successful ruse seems to have exaggerated his weaknesses and increased the discord on board the ship. Certainly his voyage to America presented to him disciplinary problems that he was unable and unfitted to solve. He had numerous quarrels with both officers and passengers. Twice the crew mutined; the second time because they were forbidden to fish on the Grand Banks. They took possession of the ship and, for several days, sailed her without orders. At this crisis Landais retired to his cabin and declined to give commands or receive communications. Finally the ship was placed under the ranking lieutenant, who had been guilty of gross insubordination, and thus she was brought into Boston. On learning of these circumstances, the federal naval authorities suspended Landais from his command and ordered a court of enquiry to inquire into his conduct. Subsequently he was tried by a court-martial presided over by Commodore John Barry, found guilty, and sentenced "to be broke and rendered incapable of serving in the American navy." The court however recommended him to the indulgence of the government as he had greatly suffered from the mutinous disposition of his officers and passengers and from the mutiny of the crew. Two members of the court voted to hang the lieutenant of the ship, who was dismissed. One of the seamen was hanged.[16]

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[15] E. E. Hale and E. E. Hale, *Franklin in France*, II, 328.

After his dismissal from the navy Landais took lodgings in New York City, where, with the exception of the years 1792-1797, he made his home until his death. He became a chronic petitioner of the federal government, seeking a settlement of his accounts and his claims. In 1782 Congress rejected a report of one of its committees that he be paid a balance of $2178.18 in settlement of his claim for pay, subsistence, and other expenses.[17] Three years later it voted to give him $1814.40, and apparently he accepted this settlement. His differences with Jones over the battle of Flamborough Head never came before a court-martial, but in 1787 they led to acrimonious charges in the columns of the New York *Daily Advertiser* (Nov. 1, 3). Meeting his adversary on the street an insult offered but unseen led to a further controversy. Jones in a public letter declared that it was impossible that "such an insult should have been offered to me with impunity, under any circumstances whatever," and he supported his declaration by the testimony of an eye witness. Landais, on the other hand, in a public letter certified that

> I really and in fact spat all the spittle that I could spare out of my mouth then into the face of John Paul, or Paul Jones . . . and that I told to that gentleman in a loud voice: "You see how I spit in his face."[18]

Verplanck may have the truer version of this incident:

> Even when he met his bitterest enemy, as he did shortly after he came to New York, the man whose accusation had betrayed his reputation and blighted his prospects, whose injuries he had for years brooded over, and whom he had determined to insult and punish whenever he fell in with him, he could not bring himself to offer him any insult unbecoming a gentleman, but deliberately spitting on the pavement, desired his ad-

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[16] "Proceedings of a Court Martial for the Trial of Peter Landais," pp. 425-755, in Papers of Continental Congress, No. 193, vol. II, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; Mrs. R. DeKoven, *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, II, 467-473. Cf. Griffin, "History of Commodore John Barry," in *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, VII (1896), 205-209.

[17] *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXII, 213-214; ed. 1823, IV, 531.

[18] N. Y. *Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 1, 1787.

versery to consider that pavement as his own face and to proceed accordingly.[19]

When early in the French Revolution the revolutionists reorganized the French navy, Landais returned to France and the service he had left at the outbreak of the American Revolution. He is said to have fought valiantly in the Sardinian war of 1792-1793. In March of the latter year, ranking then as a rear-admiral, he commanded a fleet of five vessels assigned to the protection of the shipping off the Mediterranean coast of France, and in September he was engaged in a similar task off the Atlantic coast, with a fleet of nine vessels, the *Côte d'Or,* 110 guns, serving as his flagship. The last-named fleet was a part of the Brest squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Morard de Galle, to whom Landais was second in rank. Landais's flagship and several other of his vessels took part in the celebrated mutiny of 1793, and when soon thereafter he asked permission to resign his command the French government readily granted it. He was described at this time as patriotic, but "old, distrustful, excessively suspicious, jealous, and disliked by officers and sailors." [20]

Landais remained in France four years longer. Greenleaf's New York *Journal and Patriotic Register of* November 18, 1797, has the following note about him: "Citizen Landais, formerly commander of the United States frigate the *Alliance,* has lately arrived in this city. We are informed that he is now admiral in the navy of the Republic of France." From this time until his death he pursued Congress seeking payment of his share of three prizes which the *Alliance* captured in 1779 and sent into Bergen, Norway, and which the Danish government restored to the British. The justice of his claim received recognition when in 1806 the government paid him $4000 on account. His frequent visits to the federal capital and his many petitions did not, however, avail to secure him full satisfaction. A bill for his relief introduced in the Senate in 1815 failed of passage.[21] Verplanck's graphic account of him in his old age, spent in "proud, solitary and honorable poverty," is a true one.

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[19] *Talisman*, pp. 332-333.

[20] O. Troude, *Batailles Navales de La France*, II, 285, 287; L. E. Chevalier, *Histoire de la Marine Française sous la Première République*, 98, 100, 102, 119; *Magazine of History*, II, 182.

> The Admiral kept up to the last the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His linen, though not very fine nor probably very whole, was always clean, his coat thereadbare but scrupulously brushed, and for occasions of ceremonious visiting he had a pair of paste knee buckles and faded yellow silk stockings with red clocks. He wore the American cockade to the last, and on the Fourth of July, the day of St. Louis, and the anniversary of the day on which the British troops evacuated the city of New York, he periodically mounted his old continental naval uniform, although it brass buttons had lost their splendor, and the skirts of the coat which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak touched his heels in walking, while the sleeves by some contradictory process receded several inches from the wrists. He subsisted with the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents, even the most trifling; and when my naval uncle on one occasion sent him a dozen of Newark cider as a small mark of his recollection of certain hospitalities at the admiral's table when in command, while he himself was but a poor lieutenant, Landais peremptorily refused them as a present which he could not receive because it was not in his power to reciprocate.[22]

A few years (probably in 1818) before he died, realizing that in the course of nature he could not live much longer, the admiral erected in the churchyard of St. Patrick's (Old) Cathedral, New York City, a plain wooden slab, on which was an inscription in French, which may be translated, "To the memory of Pierre de Landais, formerly rear-admiral[23] in the service of the United States, who disappeared, June, 1818, aged 87 years."[24] About the same time he drew up his will, which is in his own handwriting. It was witnessed on October 23, 1818, at the French consulate in New York City by Count D'Espinville, the French consul, Joseph Gouion, and Charles Picot. Dr. Eloy Berger, an old friend, was named executor. Equal shares were left to a sister at St. Malo, a daughter of a deceased sister, and a sister at Brest.[25]

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[21] C. O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers*, pp. 37-38; *Annals of Congress*, XXVIII, 276, 280.

[22] *Talisman*, pp. 331-332.

[23] His highest rank in the American navy was that of captain.

[24] *Magazine of History*, II, 183. Verplanck says a "white marble slab." Search in 1929 by myself and Reverend John A. Walsh, D. D., rector of St. Patrick's Church (Old Cathedral), failed to find the memorial tombstone. No record of his burial could be found.

In his last illness he was removed to the City Hospital, where he died on September 17, 1820, aged 89 years.[26] He was buried in Potter's Field, then at Washington Square.[27] The will was not probated until 1850, probably because he left no estate. In 1848 Congress voted the officers and crew of the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance* £50,000. Landais's share after deducting the $4000 given him in 1806 was $3457.40.[28] In 1850 his next of kin were unknown, and after a diligent search by his executor could not be ascertained.

The only known portrait of Landais, which was designed by Fouquet and engraved by Chrétien, inventor of the physionotrace, is reproduced in the *Magazine of History,* September, 1905, frontispiece. The original was presented by Landais to the father of Isaac J. Greenwood, of New York City. Number 231 of the *St. Memin Collection of Portraits,* published by Elias Dexter in 1862, is labeled "Capite Landais, 1801," and has been reproduced by John Fiske and other historians. It is the portrait of a young man and certainly not of Landais at the age of seventy. It may be the portrait of Lewis or Philip Landais, lieutenants in the First Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers, U. S. Army.[29]

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

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[25] Record of Wills, Surrogate Court, vol. 100, pp. 8-13, Hall of Records, N. Y. City.

[26] N. Y. *Gazette and General Advertiser,* Sept. 19, 1820.

[27] "'Admiral' Pierre Landais," by Isaac J. Greenwood, in *Magazine of History* (1905), II, 183.

[28] C. O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers,* p. 41; Sen. Ex. Doc. 37 Cong., 2 sess., No. 11, pp. 1-15.

[29] *Magazine of History,* II, 184.

# MISCELLANY

## ST. AILRED OF RIEVAULX AND THE *SPECULUM CARITATIS*

Rievaulx Abbey (not far from the present Ampleforth Abbey, Yorkshire) now being restored by the British Government, is described in the official guide-book issued by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments as "the most beautiful ruin in England." Whether or not this tallies with the aesthetic reaction generally of tourists-who-know-their-ruins, is not known; but certain it is that the fragmentary beauty of those monastic remains are a living and poignant reminder of the grand achievements of the Cistercian Reform in England, of which Rievaulx was for long the center and the inspiration. And especially should they remind us of the achievements and the talents of the greatest of its Abbots, St. Ailred (Aelred, Ethelred), whose career from the time of his entrance as a postulant (1134) until his death (1167) as he was rounding out his twentieth year as abbot, so closely paralleled that of his near-contemporary St. Bernard that he was popularly known as "the English Bernard."

Why he is now all but forgotten seems inexplicable, especially when a glance at those of his writings that have been preserved by Migne [1] reveals how well-merited was this ambitious soubriquet. Possibly the brilliance of the master has helped to overshadow that of the disciple; possibly too, the scant knowledge of his career—which up to 1922 was confined to fragmentary accounts found in the various hagiographical collections and anthologies—has tended to keep him in obscurity. But now, since the publication of Professor F. M. Powicke's valuable study, *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel*,[2] we have almost as complete and authentic a record as could be hoped for (it is based upon a long lost but undeniably authentic 14th century manuscript) of Ailred's life, written shortly after his death by Walter Daniel, his close friend and disciple. This work, now edited by a non-Catholic scholar, furnishes us with ample proof of Ailred's position as the most influential English churchman of his time. But though like Bernard, Ailred was the counsellor of kings and the moulder of events, his true significance and value lies not here, but is to be found in the power he wielded over the souls and hearts of men as teacher, preacher, spiritual director, and father of a monastic family. His writings, especially his *Speculum Caritatis,* reveal more clearly this phase of his influence; but until an edition of them in whole or in part, is made available to Catholic scholarship, it is to be feared that the wealth of inspiration and instruction contained therein will be lost to us. Since the appearance of Powicke's study, but two Catholic scholars have been moved to give us glimpses—all too fleeting—of the true St. Ailred: Dom André Wilmart has published [3] the *Oratio Pastoralis,* a short prayer of exquisite beauty, long attributed to St. Anselm; and Dr. Karl Otten has given us a popular edition of the *De Spirituali Amicitia* entitled *Die Heilige Freundschaft.*[4] These, together with choice bits of his writings quoted in biographical sketches such as the Newman-Dailgairns series,[5] and in studies touching the monastic history of Ailred's time, such as that of Coulton [6] prove to us beyond doubt the fitness of the appellation *prope par Bernardo* cited by Migne: they show conclusively that Gilbert of Holland and William of Newbridge and Nicholas of Rievaulx and the host of other writers of his day who gave Ailred such unstinted praise, were by no means lacking either in literary discrimination or spiritual acumen. Their eulogies, as Migne so rightly states, were no mere rhetoric, but " as they who read his works shall experience," sincere testimonies to the high spiritual and intellectual attainments of a great medieval saint and scholar.

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[1] *P. L.*, Vol. 195.

[2] The University Press, Manchester, 1922.

Ailred then would seem from these evidences, to have two claims to fame: an unusual public career, and writings of outstanding merit. An attempt will here be made to compress into the limits of a brief essay what is known about his life (basing our study on the findings of Prof. Powicke); and then to present the gist of what is admittedly his greatest and most self-revealing work, the *Speculum Caritatis.*

A study of Walter Daniel's *Life* shows conclusively that the two sources from which all other accounts of Ailred's career have been derived, namely, Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliae,*[7] and John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae,*[8] are two different and incomplete summaries of this original *Life*. Hence all treatments of Ailred based upon the former two sources, from the *Acta Sanctorum*[9] down to the *Dictionary of National Biography,*[10] must be adjudged as historically unsatisfactory, and all future studies must be based upon Professor Powicke's admirable edition.[11]

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[3] *Revue Bénédictine,* July, 1925, vol. XXXVII, 263. Dom. André has also shown how another of Ailred's works, his *Regula Inclusarum* has been assigned to the authorship of St. Anselm. Cf. his articles *loc. cit.,* Jan., 1924, vol. XXXVI, 60; and in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique,* July, 1927, 276.

[4] Munich, 1927.

[5] Dailgairns, J. B., ed. Newman's *Lives of the English Saints,* London, 1903.

[6] Coulton, G. G., *Five Centuries of Religion,* Cambridge, 1923, I, 356, 364, 530.

Summarizing the salient facts gleaned from this complete and authentic account, and filling in its few unimportant gaps from other well-known sources, Ailred's life may be sketched as follows: He was born near Hexham in the year 1110, of well-to-do and well-connected parents. His father Eilaf, though a married cleric, was a very good man and a staunch opposer of anything savoring of lax clerical morality: and late in life deeded all his considerable property to the monastery at Durham, residing there until his death. Ailred attended the monastic school at Hexham until he was about fourteen years old, when, through some unknown arrangement between his family and the Court of Scotland, he became a member of the household of the saintly King David I, and completed his education under the same tutors as Prince Henry and St. Waldef or Waltheof,[12] the King's stepson, who later became Abbot of Melrose. On the completion of his education he received the appointment of court *oeconomus,* which seems to have combined the duties of royal treasurer, and steward or seneschal. This office he held for about a dozen years, during which time, in addition to the valuable experience he was able to gain in the handling of men and domestic affairs, he also must have obtained a good insight into the politics of the period. Certainly he witnessed at close quarters the workings of David's saintly character and especially his zeal for reform, then at its height.

But he finally grew weary of court life, and longed for an opportunity of removing himself from its dangerous allurements and giving himself entirely to God. The chance came when on a political mission to Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1134 he stopped on the return journey at the residence of Rievaulx' noble founder, Walter Espec. The latter told him of the foundation made three years back; this so whetted his curiosity that he paid the monks a visit in their rude shelter. On resuming his journey, and while passing along the road which traverses the hillside above the valley of the Rie where the ruins still lie, he was urged by an irresistible impulse to return for still another visit with the monks, and this time asked to be admitted as one of their number. He was received, and soon entered upon the period of his novitiate. Though Rievaulx—never really wealthy in all its long career—in this pioneer stage offered little in the way of comfort or even conveniences to the young and delicately-nurtured courtier, Ailred actually found there peace and joy ineffably sweeter than any he had yet known; and in fact made this the underlying theme of his ascetic masterpiece, the *Speculum.*

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[7] First printed by Wynken de Worde in 1516; modern edition edited by Carl Horstmann, Oxford, 1901.

[8] Early 14th century, Cottonian Ms., Tib. E. 1.

[9] Jan. 11, 30.

[10] Vol. XVIII, art. *Ethelred,* by W. Hunt.

[11] Father Thurston, S. J., has done this in his recension of Butler's *Lives of the Saints,* I, 154. London, 1926.

[12] *Acta Sanctorum,* Aug. I, 257.

Four years later we find him present at the famous " Battle of the Standard," in which the northern barons routed the invading Galiwegians, and which he vividly describes in his historical tract *De Bello Standardii.*[13] In what precise capacity he witnessed the conflict we do not know, but probably he was the one designated by Abbot William (former secretary of St. Bernard who headed the original group of Citeaux monks at Rievaulx) to address the defenders (Archbishop Thurstan having ordered all the religious and clergy of Yorkshire to coöperate in the defense), because of his ability and knowledge of politics on both sides of the Border. In 1141 he accompanied William on a mission to Rome, during which, as Walter Daniel tells us, the discerning Abbot made frequent use of his disciple, since he realized Ailred's great ability in such matters. On their return the same year, Ailred was appointed Master of Novices, and though he held this post for but a year, being sent in 1142 with twelve monks to found the Abbey of Revesby in Lincolnshire, it was during this short period that he found time to compose the *Speculum,* which even Powicke calls "the most intimate and vigorous of all his writings." Since our concern here is chiefly this phase of his influence, it will suffice to give the remaining features of his life in condensed form:

1142-1147. Abbot of Revesby. Elected Abbot of Rievaulx, 1147. Same year, coöperates with the Bishop of Durham in important controversy about the seat of the Prior of Durham.[14]

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[13] Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 702-712.

1151: Acts as arbitrator in dispute between the Abbeys of Savigny (Normandy) and Furness, over the control of Byland Abbey.[15]

1152: Important General Chapter at Citeaux which he probably attended.

1152-3: Composes his historical tract *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, dedicated to Henry II (then Duke of Normandy), and containing a eulogy of David I who had just died.

1155: Delivers a discourse on the occasion of the translation of the relics of the Saints of Hexham (His *De Miraculis Ecclesiae Hagustaldensis* an enlargement of this).

1157: The General Chapter at Citeaux allows him certain privileges because of his failing health.

1159: While visiting his old friend Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, the latter was offered the Bishopric of St. Andrews.

1160: Pope Alexander III sends Ailred and his monks a bull of protection.[16] Earlier in this year Ailred had been responsible, together with Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux, for Henry II's recognition of this Pope.[17]

1163: The translation of the relics of St. Edward the Confessor, after which Ailred composed a *Life* of this saint, at the request of Abbot Laurence of Westminster, his kinsman.

1164: Publication of his *De Oneribus Isaiae*, a volume of 32 sermons dedicated to Gilbert, Bishop of London.

1164: Attests the agreement between Citeaux and the congregation of Sempringham,[18] at Kirksted.

1165: Visits the daughter-house of Dundrennan, Galloway, during which one of his many reputed miracles took place.[19]

1166: Works on treatise *De Anima*, which he left unfinished. This has survived in manuscript form.[20]

1167: He died Jan. 12. Both the Roman and Cistercian Martyrologies list his feast on this date, though he seems never to have been officially canonized.

The *Mirror of Charity*, which occupies col. 502-620 in Migne, is divided into three books, the first of which treats of the nature of Charity, the second, of its opposite: Cupidity; the third, of the various ways in which these are manifested. The text is preceded by two introductory letters, that of Abbot Gervase of Louth Park (*parchorensis,* a corruption of *parcoludensis*) who had requested the work, and Ailred's reply, setting forth his unfitness for the task, which he undertakes only through holy obedience.

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[14] Cf. Greenwell, *Foedarius Prioratus Dunelmensis*, lxi. Surtees Soc., 1862.

[15] Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, 353.

[16] Cf. *Cartularium Abbatiae de Rievalle Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. Atkinson. 185. Surtees Soc., Durham, 1889.

[17] Cf. *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*, ed. Giles, 98. London, 1845.

[18] Cf. *Cart. Abb. de Riev.*, 181-3.

[19] Cf. *Reginald of Durham*, ed Stevenson, 178-9. Surt. Soc., 1847.

[20] See Powicke's note, *op. cit.*, 67.

Book I begins with a philosophical disquisition on the nature of rational creatures, which having been disfigured by the sin of Pride manifesting itself in the form of Cupidity or Wrong Love, can only be restored through Humility manifested in Charity or Right Love. Ailred then begins to draw out his basic theme, which runs like a golden thread throughout the whole—how the " fruit " of Charity is happiness far greater even in this life than the " fruits " of baser pleasures of whatever kind, obtainable through Cupidity. It is the New Circumcision, which cuts off all noxious growths hindering true happiness in the soul; and the new spiritual Sabbath wherein is found true peace and rest—a singularly apt analogy, to which he returns again and again. Expanding this, he shows how man, created to enjoy God through using creatures rightfully, finds unhappiness and " labor " whenever he seeks to " rest " in other objects, however worthy. To find true rest, man must put on the Gospel Yoke so sweet and light; but finds false rest only at the cost of bearing the harsh and heavy yoke of the world.

This last point he takes up in detail beginning Book II, adducing the example of St. Paul and his own experience to prove that abnegation of worldly pleasure by no means robs the soul of joy. If " labor " is experienced in following Christ and bearing His Yoke, it comes from an imperfect renunciation of Cupidity; whereas if all the soul's faculties are pervaded by Charity, no amount of bodily labor and suffering can disturb its inner peace and rest.

He next launches into a searching analysis of the phenomenon of spiritual " sweetness "—which he terms the " grace of Compunction "—and which is not to be confounded with the true and lasting joy of which he has been speaking. This is a kind of divine stimulus to aid our failing natures, and has a threefold utility, corresponding to the three stages of the spiritual ascent, namely, to " arouse " those who are " beginners," to " assist " those who are " proficient " (*i. e.* making progress), and to " reward " the " perfect ". But we must not look for these graces, nor be discouraged if they do not come: but simply wait in peace for God's good pleasure.

All these principles are finally driven home by means of an ingenious device: his famous *Dialogue with a Certain Novice,* a vivid passage which has been quoted in *extenso* by many of Ailred's commentators.[21]

In Book III, Ailred returns again to the Sabbath analogy, pointing out in detail how the three kinds of Sabbaths mentioned in the Old Testament, the Sabbath of Days, the Sabbath of Years, and the Sabbath of Sabbatical Years, typify the three kinds of Charity: love of Self, of Neighbor, of God. True love of self is in effect a right ordering of all one's personal affairs (the " six days ") in relation to his supreme end. The Peace resulting from this " Sabbath " is best described in Ailred's own words—

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[21] *E. g.*, Dailgairns, Coulton, Powicke.

> Oh how sweet and peaceful it is when man, through peace of conscience obtained through his right use of Love, loves and enjoys this state of progress in himself, this Sabbath! For, after he has succeeded in withdrawing himself from exterior tumult into the inner chambers of his soul, closing the doors thereof against the noisy throng of vain things, and then allowing his gaze to wander over an interior store of riches wherein he finds nothing disturbed or out of order, nothing to bring remorse or displeasure, but all pleasing, all harmonious, all at peace and tranquil: the assemblage of his thoughts, words, and deeds like a well-ordered household, he is then able as it were, to smile with satisfaction to himself like a happy *paterfamilias* . . . and breaks forth into glad praise of Him whom he perceives to be the Author of all the good he finds within himself.

In the Second Sabbath, the six years preceding its celebration are types of the various classes of Neighbors, when we must love not for anything they have or have not in themselves, but for Christ's sake alone—in Him and through Him. If we adhere to this principle, we shall arrive infallibly at true "rest" from all "labor" due to disorderly affection towards, or hatred of others. The secret of arriving at this love is the contemplation of the Sacred Humanity, for—

> If man will direct the gaze of his soul towards the Lord of Majesty lying in a rude and narrow manger, and look with eyes of love and longing on those virgin members, and with His Mother press Him to his breast, with tottering old St. Simeon tenderly kiss Him, what lessons he will learn from the meekness of that Face, the gentleness of that Voice, the humility sublime of that Infant Child! And if he will but follow with this mode of seeing the Footsteps of the Word-made-Flesh, how will he be sweetly struck with the mildness of His Speech, His compassion for poor sinners, His loving-kindness for all the weak and forlorn, His unshrinking from even an adulteress (one of whom He saves from death by his calm pleading, another, by word of kindness, transforms into almost another evangelist)! Ah! Who is there who can refrain from deep disgust at all the sordid pleasures of fleshly attachment, viewing this sweet spectacle of the Incarnate Word! Or who can stem the flow of soft-welling tears . . . tears that fall as cooling dew upon the fires of concupiscense!

Ailred lays special emphasis upon the need of this method in practicing the most difficult form of Fraternal Charity, Love of Enemies—

> Nor is anything more fitted to inspire in us that salutary Love of Enemies wherein lies the perfection of Fraternal Charity, than the consideration of His admirable Patience, whereby that Form, most "beautiful above the sons of men" (Ps. 44, 3) offered His winning Countenance to be spat upon by impious men—those Eyes, at whose flicker the universe is moved, to be o'erveiled by sinners—that Head, at which the choirs of

> angels stand in awe, to be bowed under the cruel indignity of a Crown of Thorns . . . Ah! Who shall not, harking to that thrilling Voice so brim with sweetness, the sweetness of *Charity*, crying out "Father, forgive them," embrace his bitterest enemies in all affection!

The third and highest kind of Charity, the Love of God, is a fusing together of the first two Loves—of Self and of Neighbor; just as the Sabbath of Sabbaths is the culmination and fusion of that of Days and of Years.

Ailred then gives a number of particular counsels and principles concerning the workings of the human heart and its affections: a searching mystico-psychological study which at times confuses the reader with its wealth of detail and subtle distinctions, but which nevertheless testifies eloquently to the author's consummate knowledge of human nature and familiarity with the ways of divine grace. Finally, he lays down practical rules for the "enjoyment" of all objects capable of drawing the affections of the human heart. In this enjoyment, two kinds of "fruits" may be derived: the temporal, and the eternal. But again he warns against "resting" in the enjoyment of any object here below. Even God we cannot hope to enjoy now, for "the fruits of this Love are not plucked in this life, but reserved for the Vision of God afterwards." Nevertheless at times we are allowed to taste it in advance, more because of our "need of being sustained, than as the true fruit of Love." This is the great fruit again of intimacy with Christ in His sacred Humanity, which he extols in a passage of touching beauty—

> It is indeed no small comfort and help for us in this vale of tears, to have One to Whom we can unite ourselves through love and affection in as it were, a sweet and holy embrace . . . unto Whose Bosom we can fly as to a dear and kindly Friend . . . Whom we can draw within the inner chamber of our soul by chains of love, there to hold sweet colloquy alone and undisturbed. Here at last, all the world is hushed, and we can rest in the sleep of Peace, in the embrace of Charity Itself, so as to become One with Him. Of this He has given us the true type, when He allowed that all-tender Bosom of His to be the resting-place of one (alas, not all!) of ourselves, whose virgin brow might thus fitly be supported as it were by the flowers of a Virgin Heart, their secret petals breathing forth as from some bower of the soul, the fragrance of spiritual ointments.

An *Epilogue* repeating the same sentiments of unworthiness, etc, as in the *Introduction*, brings the work to a close.

A brief estimate of Ailred's personality and literary style, deduced from the *Speculum,* may here be given as an aid to a proper appreciation of his significance as a spiritual writer and guide. The epithet *eloquentiae Bernardinae prope par* cited by Migne, epitomizes but by no means exhausts the literary or spiritual character of Ailred's teaching. A comparison of many portions of the *Speculum* with related passages of Bernard's writings reveals what indeed may be a conscious copying not only of the latter's method and nervous style, but even of his subject matter. Yet Ailred for all that was neither a plagiarist nor a slavish imitator. The outer shell and even the topics touched upon may be Bernard's, but by Ailred's magic touch are so transformed and identified with his own unique personality that they take on new and fresh significance. He may even be said to excel his master scientifically—his searching examination of the philosophical principles underlying the development of his theme at the outset of Book I, and his psychological study of the workings of the human heart in Book III, outshine in depth of penetration and wealth of detail anything Bernard has written. The latter of course surpassed him from a rhetorical standpoint; but it must not be forgotten that Ailred's studied effort was—as he implies in his Preface—to avoid anything "savoring of the schools: I who smell of the kitchen" (referring to his domestic duties at the Court of Scotland). The *Speculum* is intended solely to edify souls, to instruct and move simple hearts; and if unaffected sincerity and limpid simplicity of style are calculated to do this, Ailred's has amply and brilliantly succeeded in his object, at least from a literary point of view. It is in this perhaps that lies Ailred's real genius—his ability to convey the impression that his words are gushing straight from his noble heart, unimpeded by literary forms and stiff rules of dialectic; and this, coupled with his undoubted learning, his broad sympathies, his expert knowledge of human nature, stamps his work as worthy of high rank as a practical contribution to the literature of Christian asceticism.[22]

William Michael Ducey.

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[22] The first collection of Ailred's writings was made by Richard Gibbons, S. J., in 1616, and published by him at Douai in 1631, in a volume entitled *Opera Divi Aelredi Rhievallensis Omnia* (*cf.* Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. III, 1408. Paris, 1892.) A second edition appeared in 1634. This *editio princeps* was incorporated almost bodily by Tissier in his *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium* (Bonnefontaine, 1662), and by the compilers of the Lyons *Bibliotheca Patrum* (1677); and these, together with the collection of Ailred's historical works made by Roger Twysden in his *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem* (London, 1652; cc. 337-422), are the sole extant collections of the saint's writings, with of course the exception of Migne's edition, which reproduces from Tissier the ascetical, and from Twysden the historical, works of Ailred. The titles of these published works are as follows (according to their sequence in Migne): 25 *Sermons On Seasons and Feast-Days;* 31 *Sermons on the Burdens of Isaias;* the *Mirror of Charity*, and

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Le Catholicisme: Ses Pédagogues, Sa Pédagogie.* By Rev. Franz De Hovre. Translated from the Flemish by Georg Simeons, with a preface by F. W. Foerster. (Bruxelles: Librairie Albert Dewit. 1930. Pp. 454.)

That truth is organic and found in its integrity only in Catholicism, and that the Catholic philosophy of education constitutes one of the integrated parts of the organism of Catholic truth—this is the thesis, the vital principle, as it were, of *Le Catholicisme: Ses Pédagogues, Sa Pédagogie.* In its structure and development, the book reflects the organic character of the truth it is illuminating. Each of its parts is of the essence of the whole; and this volume is a natural outgrowth of its predecessor, *Essai de Philosophie Pédagogique.*

There is an organic connection between philosophy of life and philosophy

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a *Compendium* of the same; *On Spiritual Friendship*, an ascetical treatise in dialogue form, modelled on Cicero's *De Amicitia;* a treatise: *On Jesus as a Boy of Twelve* (printed among the works of St. Bernard, *P. L.*, vol. 184, col. 849); a *Rule for Nuns* (printed among the works of St. Augustine under the title *De Vita Eremitica ad Sororem Liber*, *P. L.*, vol. 32, col. 1451). Following these are some historical works: *On the Battle of the Standard*, a *Genealogy of the Kings of England*, a *Life of the Blessed King Edward;* and finally a short tract entitled *Of a Certain Nun of Watton.* Besides these, some individual works have been edited more recently, viz. a *Life of St. Ninian, Bishop* (Forbes, A. P., in vol. V. of the series *The Historians of Scotland*, Edinburg, 1874); the *Miracles of the Church of Hexham* (James Raine, in his *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society, I, 173, of *On the Saints of Hexham*, Durham, 1864.); the *Oratio Pastoralis* (*cf.* above); *On the Battle of the Standard* (Howlett, R., in *Chronicles of Stephen* etc; Rolls Series, London, 1886); and Otten's translation into German of the tract *On Spiritual Friendship.* (*Cf.* above.) In addition, a number of other works are mentioned by Gibbon, and also by the Cistercian chroniclers Henriquez (*Fasciculus SS. Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Brussels, 1623, lib. 2, cap. 5, p. 226) and De Visch (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum SS. Ord. Cist.*, Cologne, 1656, 9-11); some of which are probably detached portions of larger works later printed (*cf.* Migne's note, *P. L.* 195, col. 798), but others may be works now lost. There appears to be a considerable number of Ailredian manuscripts extant representing practically all of his printed works. A cursory examination of catalogues available here has revealed to me the whereabouts of 53, among which are three apparently important *Speculum* copies, as follows: a) British Museum, Royal MS 5, B. IX, fol. 159; b) Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Nouv. Acq., Lat. 16339, fol. 69; c) *ibid.*, Lat. 17468.

of education. "All education is based on a philosophy of life." Catholic education, based on a true philosophy of life, is universal, complete, and true. Modern philosophies of education, based on one-sided and extreme views of life, are necessarily one-sided, extreme, and inadequate. Modern education needs to be integrated into true philosophy in order to realize the possibilities inherent in the half-truths of which it is composed.

The universalism of Catholic philosophy of life is opposed by Dr. De Hovre to the "unilateralisms" of modern conceptions. Catholic philosophy of life is essentially the science of reality, of life, and of man. It is comprehensive and catholic. It is a synthesis of opposites, a harmony of apparent contradictions. Only the Church can be truly paradoxical, for only the Church, the Mystic Body of Christ Who Is Life, possesses fulness of life, with its powers of assimilation and integration. Modern philosophies, on the contrary, know neither reality, nor man, nor life; they contain truths but not truth. "In fact, it may be said that among the moderns civil war reigns in the kingdom of truth."

Thus does Dr. De Hovre, in the first two parts of his book, give the substance of his thought. The clear resistless development is almost curt in its sure advance. He cannot pack all of truth into one book, so he must but suggest essentials and hasten on. Not with Catholic education in the abstract is Dr. De Hovre here concerned; it is in its educators that he would show us Catholicism. He singles out five: Spalding, Dupanloup, Newman, Mercier, and Willman. His presentation of these great men and of their conceptions of education, consistently and in cumulative fashion, makes more and more luminous the basic truths he has been sketching. Through the distinctive personalities of these men, we get a prismatic view of Catholic educational thought.

Cardinal Newman is made the great luminary of the book. For us, however, the limpid analysis of Bishop Spalding has an especial appeal. *Une lumière d'Amérique*, he is called. His faith in the absolute value of life as a reflection of Divine Life, his insistence on the intimate relation of education and life, his clear understanding of education as a just balance between heart and mind, are all illustrated by passages from his works so fitting that they might have been written solely to further Dr. De Hovre's development of his main thesis. Those who know the works of Bishop Spalding will read into the passages the original context, and those who do not know them will be given a very true, if limited, understanding of the great educator, and an impetus to further knowledge.

After developing in this way the truths and the truth of Catholic education, Dr. De Hovre gathers these ideals together in one final synthesis. He integrates them about this central fact: Christ being the Vital Principle of the Church, the Church is a true organism, and Catholic education is in vital connection with this living truth. Modern systems live on what they deny and perish in what they profess. Catholic education alone is a complete, consistent, and true development of the philosophy of which it is an essential part. And as man was created in the first place not in a state of pure nature, but in a state of supernatural elevation, education, which is one means of restoring man's fallen nature, must always take place in an environment which is supernatural, an environment of grace.

Not the least valuable feature of this book is its beautiful preface by Frederick Foerster. And not the least significant thought in this preface is that Dr. De Hovre's luminous study, while it is in one sense an Act of Faith and therefore to be truly appreciated only by those who possess the Faith, is also a light for modern educators, showing them the way to vivify their "poor fragmentary truths" with the philosophy which is not only true but truth.

SISTER JOSEPH MARY, S. S. J.

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*The Origin and Growth of Religion: Facts and Theories.* By WILHELM SCHMIDT. Translated by H. J. Rose. (New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press. 1931. Pp. xvi, 302. $5.00.)

One of the functions of anthropological science is to help retrieve the lost record of man's career during that long, vaguely defined period stretching from the dawn of dated history into the dark backward and abysm of prehistoric time. With the more recent development of a technique inspired in a measure by that of the historian, anthropology is slowly piecing together a good deal of this lost record, at least along its broad lines. We get little light on ultimate origins proper, but much of man's earlier and later prehistoric cultural history can now be reconstructed with a large degree of probability, and some of it with certainty. In particular, notable progress has been made toward the solution of the problem of prehistoric religious development, although naturally a great deal remains very obscure. Father Schmidt's work endeavors to give a bird's-eye-view of such progress, for the benefit of the reader not professionally engaged in anthropological studies.

During the last few decades, a series of theories attempting to reconstruct the rise of religion in general and of theistic religion in particular have been advanced. Most of them share in common the assumption that theistic religion is of relatively recent prehistoric or historic origin. Father Schmidt, in the first half of the present work, gives a remarkably lucid and able historical and critical review of these theories. We have no other review in English that is nearly so satisfactory. If there were nothing else in the work but this, we should be profoundly indebted to him.

This review of theories is followed, in the second half of the book, by a very clear and forceful presentation of the author's own well-known theory of primitive monotheism. The main lines of his thesis will in all probability stand the test of time. The facts we have are with difficulty reconcilable with any theory of late development of theism and point strongly toward the existence in very early prehistoric times, if not of strict monotheism, at least of something very much like it.

Assuming, however, as Father Schmidt does, that the *Kulturkreis* theory is established is another matter. This theory, one particular application of the "historical" method in anthropology, appears to the overwhelming majority of European and American anthropologists, who fully agree with the principles of the historical method, as a highly incautious and reckless application of such principles to the interpretation of the facts we possess. It is of course possible that the overwhelming majority may be wrong, for the problem and the facts are extremely complicated, but such at least is the honest and considered conviction of the great mass of competent specialists on both sides of the Atlantic.

The historian or other non-anthropological reader who may go through Father Schmidt's excellent study will not be interested in this domestic tiff, but it is well to know that there is a tiff on, and one of no mean proportions. Until it is settled in or out of court, the general reader can stay neutral or take sides as he prefers, but in either case he would do well to distinguish sharply between Father Schmidt's main thesis on the early rise of theism, a thesis for which there are excellent scientific grounds, and certain important secondary phases of that thesis that rest upon the, at present, very uncertain or improbable *Kulturkreis* theory.

JOHN M. COOPER.

*Catholic University of America.*

*Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic, A Study of His Autograph Copy of Cicero's De Oratore.* By CHARLES H. BEESON, with a Facsimile of the Manuscript. (The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1930. Pp. x, 54, Plates (in collotype), 218; 8¼ by 9½ inches; bound in heavy green buckram, stamped in gold. Price $12.00.)

Professor Beeson in 1910 began searching for manuscripts which once belonged to the ninth century humanist, Lupus of Ferrières, whose enthusiastic enquiry for, copying and study of, classical texts was scarcely paralleled before the Renaissance. Professor Beeson's search and that of others have met with surprising success. A number of manuscripts have been identified by the presence of personal notes and corrections as having belonged to Lupus, and one manuscript has been shown by Professor

Beeson to have been written by the monk himself. This latter manuscript, unquestionably the most interesting and important of those of Lupus so far identified, is a copy of Cicero's *De Oratore*, now *Harleianus 2736*. This autograph copy belongs to the oldest family of our manuscripts of the *De Oratore,* showing in common with other representatives of the family a number of lacunae on account of defects in the archetype.

The present volume contains a minute paleographical description of the *Harleianus* and a detailed exposition of the procedure of Lupus of Ferrières as a scribe and text critic, followed by a well-executed facsimile reproduction of the 109 folios of the *Harleianus.* Furthermore, just preceding the facsimile of the manuscript, there is a *Concordance Table,* indicating the book and section of the *De Oratore* in which the first word of each page of the manuscript is found. This table will greatly facilitate consultation of the *Harleianus* by classical scholars.

It need hardly be said that Professor Beeson has done his work with the conciseness and yet minute thoroughness which we should expect of a pupil of Traube. The present volume sheds new light on the methods and quality of the work of Lupus of Ferrières as scribe and text critic, and in so doing it makes a distinct contribution to our historical knowledge of the transmission of classical texts in the Middle Ages.

Lastly, it may be observed that the book is beautifully printed and bound. Scholars should certainly be grateful to the Medieval Academy of America, which is making it possible for them not only to publish the results of their researches, but also to present them in dignified and even sumptuous form.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*The Two Cities: a Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D., by Otto, Bishop of Freising.* Translated in full with introduction and notes by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Colorado College. Edited by AUSTIN P. ADAMS and CHARLES KNAPP. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928.)

*On the Government of God: a Treatise wherein are shown by Argument and Examples drawn from the Abandoned Society of the Times the Ways of God toward His Creatures.* Indited by SALVIAN, Presbyter of Marseilles and Master of Bishops as a Warning and Counsel. This Fifth Century Polemic done into English by EVA M. SANFORD, Western Reserve University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1930.)

These important additions, within the past four years, to the *Records of Civilization* series of translated source-publications for the Middle

Ages, will open to wider acquaintance, with adequate introductions and notes, two documents which should well repay study in mutual connection. They will, for one thing, increase the generally accessible evidence for a more correct and less condescending valuation of the "great Christian Epic" than has hitherto been current in some of the histories of history used by students.

The quaintness of the Salvian title-page, with its suggestion of a seventeenth-century pamphlet, together with the dedication to the editor's father and to other unnamed "Lewises and Sanfords" in her ancestry, reveals a contributory source of Miss Sanford's sympathetic understanding of her author and his thesis—the cherished memory of forefathers who, like Salvian, seem to have been hard hitters in promoting convictions about the moral government of the universe. There is no superciliousness in her treatment of the simplicity and directness of Salvian's zeal. Gibbon's sneer, echoed by J. B. Bury, about Salvian's supposed facility in accounting for calamities on theological grounds, is noted with dissent, though on the pragmatic ground that Salvian "accomplished his purpose very definitely," irrespective of whether or not his argument would be convincing today. There is, however, a lapse of consistency when, almost directly after Miss Sanford has been at pains to show that Salvian and those whom he addressed were agreed on their fundamental premises, and has warned us how easily it is to forget that Salvian was not addressing pagans or heretics, she herself forgets the limits of Salvian's task of demonstration, and repeats the charge, which she previously had refuted, that her author "assumed as his basis the very points he was attempting to demonstrate" (*cf.* p. 20 and pp. 21, 22). All Salvian had to show was, not why belief in Providence is intrinsically rational, but that without its implications, Scripture would have no coherent unity. Since his readers never questioned this coherence, the scriptural evidence Salvian adduced for the doctrine of Providence was quite sufficient for proof. Allowing for the editor's occasional difficulties in following the rationale of orthodox belief, the introduction and presentation of the work, which the editor says has been little read in proportion to its recognized value and interest, are calculated to assure it wider appreciation.

In Salvian's *Government of God,* what has been called "Augustinianism" can be seen, less significantly as an interpretation of recorded history, than as a dynamic force helping to determine the actual course of history. Now "Augustinianism" was the clarification of the Christian doctrine of providence and grace—of the teaching that fallen man is entirely dependent, and at every conceivable juncture of circumstance, upon the active mercy of providence, and upon the fleeting but ever-recurring opportunities of grace. It was at once an assertion of the all-dominating energy of the Divine Will in the shift and flux of circumstance, and a challenge to the human will to make coöperative response to that energy. It was to deflate the self-confident heresy of Pelagius that St. Augustine had whetted the sharp point and keen edge of this doctrine. He and Orosius later, however, used its arguments against the pagans, to vindicate a melioristic view of Christian ascendancy in the Roman world. Such apologetic was less assailable previous to the sack of Carthage in 430 (Sanford, pp. 21-24). But Salvian, writing after 451, and nearer the broken-down frontiers of the Empire, had seen Christian society utterly demoralized, and heard orthodox Christians echoing the pagan cry of despair. He had to use the sword-point of the doctrine of Providence and grace as might a centurion, pricking his panic-stricken troops back to the charge. Modern tactics of creating morale by suggestion—silver-lined clouds and exhortations to "smile"—would have sounded like mockery or drivel in the fifth century: what men needed was not the scent of rose-water, but the steel of conviction; and Salvian savagely drove hopelessness into a corner and compelled it to scramble up the one narrow, steep passageway to hope. He, with St. Martin, St. Severinus, St. Paulinus of Nola and other prophets, convinced their generations, caught and crushed under the wreckage of the old pagan order, choked and poisoned in its sewer-drift, that there was nothing left to trust but the Church and the religious communities (*vide* Sanford, pp. 26, 27, on Salvian's books *Against Avarice*). Nothing short of a somber, realistic supernatural challenge could have persuaded men whose substance was eaten up by Byzantium in taxes, by barbarians in tribute, and by rich revellers devouring their extorted wealth in despair of the future (Salvian VI, 10-18), that productive and creative labor was even possible any longer. And because western orthodox society, from Noricum to Cornwall, from the Rhine to Beneventum and Gibraltar, took hope and clustered around the bishops and the anchorites, a social solidarity was formed that managed to survive every relapse of "the dark ages". Upon that solidarity, knit inseparably to the See of Rome, the whole structure of medieval society was built. Without it nothing would have remained for the barbarians to rule over: Lombards, Franks and Visigoths would have become like petty marauding Bedouins in a waste of swamps, forests and mountain-caverns.

Since "Augustinianism", with its two-edged argument against rash optimism and black pessimism, was such an actual force in history, no wonder it so long held the field of historical interpretation within a characteristic framework. The setting of four great successive empires as the background for the two great dispensations of Revelation, as Dr. Mierow shows (pp. 28-31), was not, however, an unalterable feature of the tradition. For St. Augustine substituted Carthage for Medo-Persia in Jerome's series of world-empires, and Otto of Freising reverted to Jerome without hesitation or perplexity. Considerable variation in the chronologies of Eusebius, Jerome, and Augustine also attest the comparative elasticity of the tradition in those aspects of it in which exact knowledge would have been impossible; Otto's chronology, Mierow remarks, was "open-minded to a fault" (p. 33). The four world-empires series was not a more or less arbitrary distortion of pagan historical record to fit the four kingdoms of Daniel's prophecy; it was a taking-over, without substantial modification, of the world-history setting developed from the earlier imperial and Mediterranean concept of Polybius, in the writings of the first-century Roman historian Gaius Pompeius Trogus. If there was any adaptation, it was the other way around: because of the notable correspondence between the series of Trogus and the kingdoms in Daniel II, Jerome stresses the prophetic vision in this chapter, and Egypt, which plays an important part in the vision in Chapter XI (Septuagint) is not reckoned as one of the great world-empires because it is ignored in the Trogus series. Altogether, as Mierow shows, the Christian world-history tradition was less rigid, less doctrinaire on its mystical side than is often assumed, and, however dependent on *compendia* like Justin's, it was a more continuous transmission of antique historical record than it has had credit for being.

Of more importance is Dr. Mierow's emphasis on the scientific spirit compatible with this tradition, as illustrated by Otto of Freising. Without taking issue with Fueter, J. T. Shotwell, J. H. Robinson, and other critics of the "providential view of history", he leaves open a juster view than they seem to allow. Here Salvian, treated with similar fairness by Miss Sanford, is again pertinent. In Salvian, at grips with the fifth-century *débâcle,* the argument for Divine over-rulership is stripped of superfluous subtlety or speculative mysticism. He has no explanations of inequalities and reversals of human lot or fortune: "I am a man," he says, "I do not know the secrets of God" (Salvian III, 1). If he associates calamity with ill-desert on the part of the sufferer, it is not in order to draw any inference of supposed manifest retribution, but to estop complaints of the guilty against Divine justice (*vide* VIII, 5, concluding paragraph, Sanford, p. 231). He distinguishes sharply between debatable proposition and irrefutable testimony: "Statements made in human terms need proofs and witnesses, whereas God's speech is its own witness" (Salvian III, 1; *cf.* Sanford, pp. 77-79). With Salvian in the fifth century, as with Otto in the twelfth, a fact established remains to be reckoned with; and no guesses about its necessary inference can be treated as equivalent to proof. Inductive method and multiplied facilities for inquiry can discipline conjecture; yet temptation to rash and premature inferences from fact is just as urgent in Leopold Ranke, commenting on "the education of the human race" (*Papstgeschichte,* Einleitung, I, 4), as in Orosius, moralizing about the fate of the Emperor Valens. In positing the objective and impartial aim of the historian, Ranke's ***wie es eigentlich geschehen ist*** is paralleled seven centuries earlier by Otto in language almost identical (VI, 23; *cf.* ibid. 18; II, Prol.; *Gesta Frederici* I, 2, 141). Otto's detached and judicial balancing of conflicting evidence, opposing motives (sc. Prol. VII; IV, 3; Prol. IV; VII, 11); his care to correct inaccurate reports by examination of internal evidence (sc. VII, 7), retaining the "thread of truth" in biased testimony (VI, 18); his refusal to vouch for documentary assertions which he regards as dubious (VI, 11); his refusal to seek a mystic explanation of all the events he narrates (Prol. VIII, end)—all this conscientious fidelity to fact, this acknowledgment of the difficulties of determining historical questions was not due, as Hauck too readily infers (Mierow, p. 61) to mere sensitiveness to the growing claims of secular points of view. Otto's attitude of detachment and suspended judgment, taken in connection with the increasing yet insufficient evidence he had to weigh, was one of logical fidelity to the belief that all events are ordained or permitted by an unfathomable Wisdom, and must be regarded as significant even if their meaning is hidden, their bearing on doctrine obscure. He was aware that the learning of his time, with its available source-material, was inadequate to warrant confident conclusions (VIII, 35—concluding chapter). Students of the "idea of Progress" like J. B. Bury, deny that a medieval chronicler could have a suspicion of that idea, as they define it. To Otto, "Progress" was certainly not a creed. Secular history, to him, was rather a series of vicissitudes than a series of permanent solutions of temporal problems. Yet he discerned a quickening of intellectual life from Charlemagne to the Ottos (VI, 18), and regarded the Crusades and the reign of his nephew Barbarossa with a tempered hopefulness; noting, however, without enthusiasm, the trend of growing ascendancy of the ecclesiastical power over the monarchy. Yet he is not an imperialist, for he does not exclude the possibility that Antichrist may have as an ally the Emperor of the Romans (VIII, 3; *cf.* Prol. IV; VI, 3; VI, 36; Prol. VII). Otto's tentative outlook on temporal questions whose bearing on eternal welfare was not yet clear, was perhaps the only possible one for a reflective mind in his time. It certainly saved him from delusions about the permanence of the medieval status of civilization.

Hofmeister's text (1912) in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* is the basis of the translation, the first complete one published. Horst Kohl's German translation (1881, 1894) contained, besides the dedicatory and prefatory letters, only the prologue to I, and books VI and VII. It was at Professor Shotwell's suggestion that the present work was undertaken. It was under the former Dean at Princeton, Andrew F. West, that Dr. Mierow began his studies in the field of medieval Latin literature; hence this achievement can be reckoned, in accordance with Professor Mierow's acknowledgements to Professor West, as a product of the Princeton graduate school. To have given the first complete translation, so well introduced and annotated, of the greatest of the late-Latin chronicles is to have done a service which would be invaluable, if it did no more than help correct the notion that the "providential interpretation of history" must have the smug assurance of village sages around a stove, unfolding the Divine councils in regard to a recent foreign earthquake.

*Washington, D. C.* W. T. M. GAMBLE.

*Un Animateur De La Jeunesse Au XIII$^e$ Siècle.* Par MARGUERITE ARON. (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer et Cie., Editeurs. 1930. Price, 20 frs.)

This work, which the Reverend Father Mandonnet describes in his Preface as "a glorious page of history drawn from the most glorious century of the Christian era," is an account of the life and travels of the Blessed Jordan, Second Master General of the Dominican Order. A perusal of the volume will convince the reader that Father Mandonnet's appraisal is in no way an exaggeration. Seldom does one run across a biography so charmingly and withal so accurately written as is this one. The author combines an undisguised affection for the subject of her study with a critical historical sense. As a result, the reader on finishing the volume is satisfied not only that he has acquired a fund of facts concerning the development of the Dominicans but also that he has made the acquaintance of a character for whom he cannot but feel a deep regard. For to know the Blessed Jordan as this author describes him is to love him.

She begins her work with a delightful chapter on thirteenth-century life at the University of Paris where Jordan was studying when he decided to enter the Order of Preachers. Apart from its relation to the rest of the work, this chapter will prove interesting to the student of education as it presents an excellent sketch of the organization of a medieval university. The author's purpose, however, is to paint the background for the picture of Jordan she is about to draw.

Jordan's advance in the Order was little short of marvellous. Entering on Ash Wednesday, 1220, he, with two other friars, was chosen two months later to represent the Paris Convent at the General Chapter which St. Dominic had convoked for the Feast of Pentecost at Bologna. In 1221, he was named Provincial of the Lombard Province. On the 6th of August of this same year, St. Dominic died. On May 22d, following, the General Chapter assembled at Paris elected Jordan to the office of Master General of the Order. From that day until the day of his tragic death—he was drowned in a shipwreck off the coast of Syria, Feb. 13, 1237—his whole life was spent with the one aim of extending the work of his order which he rightly believed to be an instrument chosen of God for the salvation of souls. That his mission was fruitful, history bears witness. In the 15 years he was superior he founded 240 convents, established 4 new provinces and brought no fewer than 1000 recruits to the Dominican way of life. The present volume describes in interesting detail the journeys he made and the joys and trials he met with in the performance of his great work. He was particularly anxious to win over to the service of the Order, which from the beginning was devoted to preaching and teaching, the young clerics of worthy character and exceptional talent who were studying at the various universities of the time. His influence over these was so powerful that few who listened to him were able to resist his appeal. In fact, some of the older clergy at times warned the young clerics not to attend his sermons lest they be carried away by his eloquence. This explains the unusual title of the present biography.

It was not only Jordan's eloquence, however, that explained his power over the minds and hearts of youth. He was a master of the spiritual life who knew how to direct both religious communities and individual souls in the way of perfection. According to Mlle. Aron, he was the first European to systematize this work of spiritual direction. This care of his for souls was manifested in his concern for his novices and priests but it is particularly evident in his direction of the Blessed Diana d'Andalo, of Bologna, whom he invested with the habit of a Dominican nun. His letters to her, of which some fifty have been preserved, are one of the treasures of medieval Christian literature, being the first example of a spiritual correspondence between an anointed minister of the Gospel and a saintly member of the opposite sex. According to the author, they reveal a spiritual friendship that is sublimer even than that of St. Francis of Assisi for St. Clare or of St. Francis de Sales for St. Frances de Chantal.

Space will not permit a summary of the many other striking traits of Jordan's character which are brought out by Mlle. Aron in her study. We shall therefore close this brief review by quoting in part the prayer she addresses to this Patron of Christian Schools. Drawing a comparison between the schools of our day and those of Jordan's time, she sees the same dangers threatening both, *viz.*, professors who are learned but do not know the ways of God and well-intentioned souls who would lead youth in the right path but are not possessed of the knowledge that is necessary to teach. Then she speaks of the many, professors and students alike, who maintain as it were separate compartments in their souls, one for their personal convictions and another for their professional conduct. Inasmuch as Jordan was a master in the art of breaking down this dualism, showing both teachers and taught how the Christian way of life was compatible with the pursuit of knowledge, she addresses him as follows:

"Master— you loved those boisterous students of a former day and you touched their hearts. You gathered about you a select group whose talents you developed and whose spirits you lifted to the heights. Do not abandon those who are your sons and heirs. Do not forsake the youths who are in school today. Give them teachers who are devoted to God; give them servants of God who are teachers too." This is a prayer to which every Catholic educator will say a fervent "Amen."

EDWARD B. JORDAN.

*Catholic University of America.*

*Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum.* By ANGELUS MARIA WALZ, O.P., S.T.D. (Rome: Libreria Herder. 1930. Pp. xiv, 664.)

While the Dominican Order may not have shown the same devotion to historical research as have certain other orders, notably the Jesuits, through the Bollandists, and the Benedictines, especially in the School of Saint Maur, its seven hundred years of life have been rendered illustrious by a splendid line of historians from Vincent of Beauvais down through Saint Antoninus and Bzovius to Denifle and Mandonnet. However, their interest has been more largely directed to general history than to that of their Order and, whether it be matter for praise or blame, and there have not been wanting those who have considered the Dominican disdain for recording their glories and achievements as indicative of a certain spiritual greatness, the fact remains that the Dominican Order has no plethora of printed material concerning its history.

This is clearly indicated in Father Walz' *Compendium.* A compendium is, of its very nature, merely a summary, an abstract of existing printed matter, and it is due to the partial absence of adequate monographs, biographies, national and provincial histories and not to any lack of skill, that Father Walz has been unable to produce a definitive work. If, for example, his account of the Friars in the United States is inadequate, it is largely because of the absence of works which can adequately portray their story. Of course, Father O'Daniel has done much to remedy this and Father Walz has availed himself of his researches. Yet we would not have it thought that this *Compendium* is of little or no value. On the contrary, it is a fine piece of historical research whose contents should be mastered by all interested in the Order of Preachers. But we feel that its greatest value is, perhaps, in that it indicates the existing *lacunae* which call for much further research. It is also a prospectus for a future definitive history of the Order.

The volume is divided into three parts, the divisions being made at 1507 and 1804 respectively. Each part is divided into five sections: a general conspectus of the development of the Order; its constitutional growth and change; its life and activities; a conspectus of the provinces with their statistics; and, finally, the relations of the Order with the clergy and other religious Orders. References are freely given and there is a fine bibliography. On the other hand, though there is an index of names, there is no index of matters or of places, which is a distinct drawback.

Historians owe a debt of gratitude to Father Walz for this volume which they will, we hope, be justified in regarding as merely the first fruits of a growing and vital interest in Dominican history, within the Order and without, from which much fruit is to be garnered in the next few years.

ANSELM M. TOWNSEND, O. P.

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*The History of France, from the death of Louis XI*. Vol. III: Reign of Louis XII (1498-1507) and Vol. IV: Reign of Louis XII (1508-1514). By JOHN S. C. BRIDGES. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 313; xv, 310.)

One of the difficult tasks confronting the reviewer of these books is that of restraining himself from waxing enthusiastic and conferring lavish praise. In this case one could go rather far without becoming too laudatory. When one finds an historiographer who combines the literary smoothness of a first-rate novelist with the minute care and accuracy of a scholarly historian; who gives to his characters and scenes the warmth of human life, while avoiding altogether the relation of scandal; who, being neither iconoclast nor hero-worshipper, idealizes none of his characters, yet leaves the impression that even the worst of them possessed some real stock of good; whose knowledge of his subject is extensive and profound, and whose judgments are evidently unbiased; when such a man appears, we think we have come as near as possible to the ideal historian. Yet, it is no exaggeration to say that we find these attributes in Mr. Bridges, as known through his latest work.

It is ten years since his first volume of his History of France appeared, and six years since the second volume was published. These were greeted with high acclaim by English critics, both for their literary vigor and their historical scholarship. The present volumes excellently fulfilled the promise of their predecessors.

Starting with the announcement to Louis of the death of Charles VIII and his own accession to the throne of France, the story takes us down through all the momentous scenes of the Italian wars, the conquest and loss of Milan, the struggle for Naples, the League of Cambray, the great battles of Agnadello and Ravenna, the Holy League and schismatic Council of Pisa, the war in Navarre, and the final disarming of all the combined foes of France on the eve of the old king's death. We meet with the famous characters of that eventful epoch, and we feel that we know them as human characters with enough of viciousness in many and at least a modicum of virtue in all: Alexander VI, Caesar Borgia, Ferdinand the Catholic, Maximillian I, Julius II, La Trèmoille, Bayard, Gaston de Foix. We not only meet them, we make their acquaintance.

Two other points deserve mention—and praise: first, the ability of the author as a military historian as shown in his interesting and authoritative description of the various battles and campaigns; secondly, his delicate handling of canonical matters when dealing with the divorce and with the schismatic Council of Pisa. Two and three sketch maps in the respective volumes, a very fine index, a scholarly appendix on the disputed date of the death of Louis VII, and a convincing bibliography and a list of authorities round out the work.

THEODORE R. SMITH, O. P.

*The Catholic University of America.*

*Obedience in Church and State: Three Political Tracts.* By STEPHEN GARDINER. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Notes by Pierre Janelle. (Cambridge University Press. 1930. Pp. lxx, 221. 15s.)

Stephen Gardiner, noted for his part in Henry VIII's revolt from Rome, wrote a number of tracts valuable as source material both for the student of political and religious history. Three tracts are printed in this volume, forming a unity which is expressed in its title. The first, justifying Cardinal Fisher's execution, is preceded by Gardiner's address to the papal legates who came to England in 1529 to inquire into the king's matrimonial case, and by Pope Paul III's brief of 1535 to Francis I, king of France, urging him to "enforce justice" against Henry VIII. The second is the Oration of True Obedience, and the third, Gardiner's answer to Martin Bucer, reformer of Strassbourg, with whom the English hierarch became involved in controversy while on a diplomatic mission on the continent. The Latin text of Gardiner's address to the legates is taken from the State Papers of Henry VIII and that of the papal brief from Camuset, *Meslanges historiques* (Troyes, 1619). The English translation, printed face-to-face with the Latin, is by Professor Janelle. The papal brief had been evoked by the execution of Cardinal Fisher in 1535. The indignation caused in Europe by the churchman's end required assuaging; hence, the first tract on Fisher's execution and the Oration of True Obedience, both of the year 1535. The Latin text of the former is drawn from the English State Papers, its translation, very incorrect and more favorable to the reformers than Gardiner's Latin original, by an unknown scribe. The editor corrects the errors in footnotes. The Latin text of the Oration of True Obedience is that of the contemporary London printer, Thomas Berthelet, the translation, that attributed to John Bale, Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, and carefully corrected. The Latin text of the Bucer tract is from a manuscript in the Parker collection of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the translation again is by Professor Janelle.

The volume is well worth the attention of readers of the REVIEW for the reasons that the Fisher and Bucer tracts have never appeared in print and that the Introduction is a keen analysis of Gardiner's character as revealed by these tracts. In the Fisher tract Gardiner carefully avoided Protestant habits of speech to accomplish Henry's purpose with the French king. Gardiner is found in this tract " at his lowest ", for, knowing Fisher as a devoted Catholic, he makes the victim of Henry's absolutism confess that he had tainted the purity of his conscience with treason (p. liii). In the Oration of True Obedience Gardiner was quite as deceptive in his concessions to the Protestants. In reality he was a conservative and dearly loved episcopal pomp. The Bucer tract reveals Gardiner's thought with regard to the relations between the State and the Church, but the conclusions to be drawn from it again are not altogether flattering to the episcopal diplomat. The book is a valuable addition to a series already conspicuous for such works as Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings, Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius,* and Previté-Orton's *Marsilius of Padua: The Defensor Pacis.*

F. J. TSCHAN.

*Pennsylvania State College.*

*Europe from 800 to 1789.* By H. W. CARLESS DAVIS. Edited by G. N. Clark. (New York: Lincoln Macveagh, The Dial Press. 1930. Pp. xvi, 319. $3.50.)

Professor Davis worked out a series of lectures at Oxford with the preliminary history examination requirement of Oxford men in mind. Hence, the unusual, but in reality very defensible date-limits of the book, beginning " with the reconstruction after the fall of the Roman Empire, . . . and stopping short of the French Revolution . . . the beginning of our contemporary world " (p. vii). Professor Davis died very suddenly, while his lectures were in process of a second revision, and his friend and pupil, Mr. Clark, edited them for the press. The book is admirably adapted to its purpose. The material is presented in a pithy, direct, nevertheless pleasing manner. Frequently there are formal summaries of important matter: *e. g.,* the arguments of the Guelphs and Ghibellines (pp. 65-67), the characteristics of the absolute monarchies which arose in the late

Middle Ages (pp. 106-108), the significance of Erasmus (pp. 154-156) and of Luther (pp. 154-156), the results of the Wars of Religion (pp. 188-190). Eighteenth century views, lingering in England perhaps more than in the United States, are combated. Thus, feudalism was denounced in the period of the French Revolution (and still is) without considering that the privileges of the French *noblesse* "only became abuses when they were permitted to continue after the corresponding duties and burdens of the feudal landowner had become a dead letter" (p. 18). Monasticism also is justified though one may not think the argument that "the monk stands before God as a perpetual intercessor for mankind" as "archaic and naive." Hildebrand is seen, favorably, through the eyes of Voigt, but the economic-political bases of Henry IV's opposition are not clearly perceived. France is extolled for her contributions to literature, art, and learning in the Middle Ages, but little is said about those of Germany; indeed, one gets the impression that Carolinginan Gaul was French rather than German. One is happy to find the fact emphasized that from the twelfth century onward medieval men of learning believed in the sphericity of the earth and that, therefore, "the discoveries . . . did not mean a revolution in scientific thought, as is commonly supposed" (p. 142). Luther, too, could preach a "biblical Christianity," because the Bible was widely read in the vernacular before his advent, and the Catholic champions (Loyola, More, and others) "need not fear comparison (even if they may not relish it) with the Protestant champions" (Calvin, Melancthon, Knox, Beza, and others). In mentioning the ill-treatment which the Huguenots received at the hands of the Catholic Louis XIV, and their expulsion, Professor Davis notes how the Irish fared at the hands of the Protestants, William and Mary. Although the book deals primarily with the political development of Europe in the period, there is a short paragraph on the significance of the influx of American gold and silver in the sixteenth century. But one error could be detected: Otto I defeated the Hungarians at the Lechfeld in 955, not in 954.

**P. G.**

*Deutsche Kulturgeschichte.* Von FRIEDRICH ZOEPFL, Bd. II. Vom. 16 Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co. 1930. Pp. xxiv, 709. $8.00.)

The more one explores German books on cultural history written by Catholics and published by Catholic book producers, the more one wishes they could be made available to our uni-lingual population. As there is not in English such a work as Schnürrer's three volume work on the Middle Ages, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* (Cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* July, 1931, pp. 183-186), there is nothing comparable with the second volume of Zoepfl's *Deutsche Kulturgeschichte*.

Zoepfl is well-balanced in his judgments. His account of the sixteenth century is tempered. It is a period of cultural poverty, crudeness, grossness, but it is not thus entirely because of the Reformation. Erasmus's ridicule and criticism, to be sure, were destructive rather than constructive, Luther's rebellion and the troubles it caused did religion and Germany much harm, and other humanists and reformers worked havoc and begot confusion. The sixteenth century, however, was what it was because things medieval and modern were then in intense conflict, neither triumphing until the Thirty Years' War cleared the way for the modern. Horrible as that conflict was and evil as many of its results were, Zoepfl takes contemporary historians to task for exaggerating its horrors—Gustavus Adolphus, for example, did try to restrain his soldiers—and he thinks that by giving a death-blow to much that was obsolete, that war made room for something new to develop. Then follow one hundred and fifty pages on Germany "in French livery"—the age of the baroque, an era of contradictions. The treatment of this period and also that of the Aufklärung are admirable. Not a phase of life has been passed over without notice of what it was like and how it fitted into the general picture of things as they were because the philosophy of the age had come to be what it was. There is a splendid account of mercantilism (pp. 371-381), and a graphic description of the *palais* of the nobles and the houses of the merchants as well as of the hovels of the masses (pp. 390-398). Details enliven one's senses to a fuller realization of the pictures—dishes, for instance, were not covered then to keep the food warm, but rather to prevent the powders of the highly "made-up" dames and gallants of the age from dropping from their persons on the food (page 399). Only fifty pages are devoted to the modern period—it is an age which historians who will live and write after it has passed, alone can justly describe. To Zoepfl it seems an age in which the religion of the middle ages, even the antique of the renaissance, and the puissance of absolute monarchism are not the directing forces. The machine directs the men who made it; indeed, is threatening to master them. Ours is an "Abgötterte Welt," but Zoepfl is optimistic. Although science has not said its last word nor revealed its most marvellous wonder, the spiritual is not crushed out of the hearts of men in general and of Germans in particular. They are not yet utterly poor and helpless. When they are, they will cry out for the eternal. Now Germany has a civilization, then it will again have a *Kultur*.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

*Pennsylvania State College.*

*The Middle Ages 300-1500.* By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. Two Volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1931. Pp. xxv, 1069, xlvi. $12.50.)

In this latest work of James Westfall Thompson the author has made no effort to "humanize knowledge"; that is to say, Clio is not forced to dance to a jazzy tune in order to lure the masses. The book is readable, but there is no compromise with popular taste nor with a merely superficial interest in history. Harold Lamb's clientèle will not dash through Professor Thompson's volumes. On the contrary this is a book of solid scholarship, brought to life by virtue of the author's vivid historical imagination. If there are pages that approach the dry-as-dust sort of record, there are likewise many that glow with the writer's eloquence, with the superb and stirring diction that makes his classroom a place of adventure, as the present reviewer can testify on the basis of two fortunate years spent as his student.

It is not surprising that one familiar with the middle ages should warn the reader against the old superstition that they were a period of darkness. This he does several times in the Introduction (which is reprinted from his *Reference Studies in Medieval History*). And again more specifically he urges that the "sentimental exaggerations" of the medieval peasant's hardships be discounted (p. 731). He brands as "ignorant and intellectually degrading" Hegel's view of medieval philosophy as "barren and ill-expressed" (p. 755). He recognizes the existence of a genuine science in the middle ages (p. 785). For him this period, which it was once the fashion to malign, was one of great and varied civilization.

There are so many noteworthy features in the two volumes that one is at a loss to begin cataloguing them. The maps are certainly deserving of favorable mention. Some of those of double-page spread were specially prepared for the publishers in Germany. The line map of the fiefs and suzerains of the counts of Champagne (p. 709) gives a clear picture of the intricacies of feudal tenure; that of a typical manor (p. 725) acquaints one at a glance with the general features of the manorial regime. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter are excellent teaching helps and are very suggestive for the general reader, although one finds a dearth of Catholic authors and a complete lack of non-English works, save those which are available in translations.

The chapters on the Byzantine Empire are both timely and unusual. Those on the *Kulturgeschichte* of the middle ages are adequate and scholarly. While the work is primarily one of political history, yet at least ten of the thirty-seven chapters have to do solely with culture and institutions. The opening chapter is a superb survey of the old Roman Empire in all its aspects. The third chapter contains a remarkable account of the geographical background of the German peoples and of Germanic institutions at the beginning of the great migrations. Professor Thompson shows an extraordinary acquaintance with the names and the locale of German tribes, but one feels that an occasional footnote, showing the source of his information, would not be out of place. Equally noteworthy are the splendid account of Frankish institutions and civilizations (pp. 211, ff.) and the analysis of Charlemagne's administrative system (pp. 266, ff.). One familiar with the author's *Feudal Germany* is not surprised at the lucid account of German eastward expansion (pp. 513, ff.).

Among other outstanding features one may choose for special mention the appreciative explanation of feudalism as a social regime, an economic structure, a governmental form, and a civilization (pp. 688, ff.); the striking picture of a manor and of life thereon (pp. 722, ff.); the story of the rise of universities (pp. 765, ff.); the account of the greatness and penetrative influence of Arabic science (pp. 778, ff.); the chapter on medieval literature (chapter XXVIII, pp. 793, ff.), which surveys all the literary forms in all European languages; the instructive pages on the music of the middle ages (pp. 853-863); the discerning constitutional analysis in his history of the elective principle as applied to the imperial crown (pp. 930, ff.); the sympathetic treatment of the problems confronting the councils following the Great Schism (chapter XXXIII, pp. 956. ff.); the stirring account of discoveries and explorations in Renaissance times (pp. 1037, ff.).

Dr. Thompson is blessed with the ability to gain a very clear view of men and things. A case in point is his estimate of Diocletian (pp. 16, ff.) and of the statesmanship and administrative genius of that emperor. Another is his taking into account all factors (geographical, Biblical, political, circumstantial) in the development of papal supremacy (pp. 50 ff.). Another is his careful distinction between the expansive movement of the Franks and the mere migrations of other Germanic peoples (pp. 108, ff.). Again, he sees a possible reason for the rapid spread of Islam in the light yoke which the Arabs imposed upon conquered peoples as contrasted with the heavy Byzantine or Persian one (pp. 156, 165). He gives us a penetrating analysis of the possible motives of Gregory VII (p. 453) and a glowing tribute to the intellectual stature of the great Pope, calling him "the greatest figure of the middle ages" (p. 457). Again no greater tribute to a man or clearer judgment of him could be offered than this sentence concerning Louis IX: "History is sometimes pitiless in its destruction of illusions, but in the case of St. Louis history and legend are one." (p. 540). One feels grateful that so distinguished an historian can see more than the "mere swashbuckler" and romantic in Richard I and can appraise that king's real abilities and achievements against tremendous odds (pp. 585-586). One is pleased, too, that his understanding wisdom enables him to regard the veneration of the Virgin as "the loveliest and most spiritual manifestation of the age" (p. 670). His clear-sightedness causes him to reach decisions that are not conventional or customary; *e. g.*, of Abelard he says: "He was above all a skillful dialectician, clever in verbal thrust and parry, with a keen mind, but one not so deep as usually supposed" (p. 756). Examples could be multiplied to attest to Professor Thompson's clarity of perception.

This reviewer feels that some things of importance have been omitted from the book. An example is the absence of all English history. It is continental Europe of which the author is writing, to be sure, but the complete absence of England causes the picture of the middle ages to be fragmentary and the title of the book to be a trifle misleading. Again one feels that there is a real lack in his failure to treat the relations between the Eastern and Western wings of the Church. Only casually (p. 570) does he mention the final schism of 1054. One feels further that there is something missing in the account of the Peace of Constance (pp. 502-503). The author asserts that it marked an epoch in European history (and one agrees with the fact), but he fails to explain why this is true.

Mr. Thompson is clever, in the best sense of the word, and many are the subtle points which he scores; thus: "The average human mind is bound to think of something, and persons incapable of constructive thought yet like to think that they think" (p. 37). Again, there is clever reasoning in his identification of many early heresies with economic or secessional movements (p. 48). Clever, too, is his description of the medieval empire as "Roman in inception, ecclesiastical in conception, and German in practice" (p. 264), thus symbolizing the fusion of the three primary ingredients of medieval civilization. Another illustration of this trait in the author is his assertion that "the Crusades should be regarded as the medieval period in the long conflict between East and West" (p. 561). One final example: "The sculptors are realistics, mystics, and humanists in one" (p. 1032); where could one find a more apt summary of Renaissance sculpture?

In a work of such length one naturally finds a number of assertions which must be questioned. These will doubtless differ with the training and experience of the reviewer, but one can question only what seems questionable to oneself. This reviewer is not convinced of the author's expressed probability that if Constantine had lived longer, Arianism would have been orthodox and Athanasianism heretical (p. 39). One wonders if Dr. Thompson is entirely correct in saying that the popes from 750 to 950 were politicians "not interested in theology" (p. 187). Is it not likely that the exigencies of time and circumstance forced some of them into the political rôle, although their personal interests might have directed them elsewhere. Again, was the Pope "originally, in law and in fact, but bishop of Rome" (p. 265)? Is it correct to speak of the "geographical area of the Norse expansion" as a "real dominion" (p. 307)? There was certainly but little unity in these scattered and isolated conquests, except partially in the time of the great Cnut. Is it not an anachronism to speak of "Catholic bishops and abbots," as distinguished from those of the Greek obedience, before the schism of 1054 (p. 401)? Were the ninth and tenth century Popes ignorant of the movement away from the conciliar theory of Church polity toward the development of a papal monarchy (p. 420)? Was Gregory VII more discomfited than Henry IV was as penitent at Canossa (p. 454)? Was Frederick Barbarossa indeed "the most brilliant sovereign of the Feudal age" (p. 476)? Professor Thompson himself lays at his door much of the blame for the collapse of the empire and the decay of German royal power; Frederick I's blunders in statesmanship and his failure to sense the trend of his time do not seem to indicate a brilliant mind. Can we be certain, in the light of recent researches (especially that of the author's colleague, Professor Einar Joranson) that Charlemagne and Harun-al-Rashid were "allies" (p. 563)? Was "remission of sin" ever promised to Crusaders (p. 571), or was it only plenary indulgence? Is it correct to speak of the "worship of relics" (p. 643)? Was Boniface VIII actuated primarily by family ambition (p. 868)? These are representative questions that come to mind as one reads the book.

One finds contradictions here and there throughout the two volumes, some of them obviously slips that cause amusing results. Thus on page 39 Constantius is the champion of Arianism, and on the next page its enemy. Again, the account on page 207 of the division of Frankland between the sons of Charles Martel reverses that given in the genealogical table on page 204. Otto II's empress, Theophano, appears as the daughter of Romanus II (p. 360), the step-daughter of Nicephorus II (p. 383), and the daughter of Nicephorus II (p. 553). Philip of Swabia is presented as the son of Henry VI (p. 587) and the son of Frederick Barbarossa (p. 588). The author argues for the spelling Jean Darc (p. 989), but elsewhere uses the form Jeanne d'Arc (p. 892).

There are very few objectionable features to be noted in the book. Perhaps the most outstanding one is the author's tendency to make frequent quotations in the body of the text. This causes an annoyance which is heightened by his failure in many cases to give the source of the quotation.

Another is his practice of introducing, under the guise of illustrative material, details which slow up the narrative and will doubtless tax the patience of the general reader. A case in point is his account of the feud between the bishop of Clermont and the count of Auvergne in 1121 ff. (p. 351).

But one cannot close a review of so admirable a work on a note of adverse criticism. Let us rather cite a few splendid things that are typically Thompsonian—things that only a Thompson (or so it seems to the prejudiced view of an old student) could write. There is the chapter on the War of Investiture (pp. 444, ff.), in which the two great antagonists, Gregory VII and Henry IV, are clothed in the mantles of heroes in Greek tragedy, whose closing days are treated with the touch of pathos that properly belongs to them. There is the stirring picture of a dramatic incident at Besançon, when Roland Bandinelli (later Pope Alexander III) was reading a papal message to Frederick Barbarossa (p. 493). The characters of the drama come to life on the page, and one gains lasting portraits of the future Pope, the glamorous emperor, Archbishop Rainald of Cologne, Otto of Wittelsbach. Or again, one may turn to the account of Jeanne d'Arc (pp. 989, ff.) and read a tale that is told with poignant restraint, with unforgettable poetry. When one comes to the end of a 1000-page work and remembers not only its painstaking scholarship and masterly construction, but also its dramatic interludes and flights of pure literature, one must of necessity believe that he has been reading a great and rare book.

HEWITT B. VINNEDGE.

*Nashotah, Wis.*

*Anza's California Expeditions.* By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History and Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California. Five volumes: I. *An Outpost of Empire* (pp. 529); II. *Opening a Land Route to California: Diaries of Anza, Días, Garcés, and Palóu* (pp. 473); III. *The San Francisco Colony: Diaries of Anza, Font, and Eixarch, and Narratives by Palóu and Moraga* (pp. 436); IV. *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition* (pp. 552); V. *Correspondence* (pp. 426). (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1930. $25.00.)

This work contains thirteen of the fourteen diaries written upon the occasion of trail blazing and colony migration incident to the founding of San Francisco, the Northern outpost of Spain's great empire.

Supplement to the diaries is a volume of correspondence. And superseding and interpreting this priceless store of documentary materials is a remarkable synthetic volume—a masterpiece from the author's pen. This whole work is a notable contribution to western hemisphere literature. It stands a powerful fulfillment, characterized by dramatic vigour and whimsical charm.

Each volume is charmingly illustrated with associate views indicative of the author's thorough field-work and artistic sense. The work is further vivified with facsimiles which reveal without question the translator's task. Maps both contemporary and of the author's own compilation give a happy thread for orientation. Likewise identification citations and editorial explanations connote the scholar's touch. Separate prefaces and individual indexes enable the reader to proceed at ease.

For twenty odd years Professor Bolton has been engrossed with this study, assembling, compiling, and interpreting. With his own hands he has gathered the documents in the recesses of dusty archives. From his own wealth of historical conceptions and linguistic skill he has fashioned the translation. In person he has retraced the long trail from Mexico City to Suisun Bay. And unsparingly he has given himself to the completion of his task.

This work on Anza is welcomed. It contains just what Americans, north and south, are wishing for in order to more fully understand their inheritance and first planting in the western world. Bolton's graphic pen furthers this need by its directness, sincerity and literary charm. This is true of the translator's skill in four of the volumes. It is fully true of the writer's art in the historical narrative, *An Outpost of Empire.*

As an historian Bolton cannot be classified. He is the founder of a school, freed from provincial limitations. He is no builder of palaces fashioned on other foundations. In long neglected archives he hewed his own stones and sketched his own forms, and like unto the resistless *tapia* of the grand palace of the Gileños he molded out of his own garnerings rare and enduring forms.

The general ground covered in the diaries appears repetitious at first thought, but the reader quickly discovers the purport of the Bolton arrangement. Each diary makes its own contribution. No two are identical. What one observer passed by the other considered worthy of record. Twelve of the fourteen Anza diaries are here published for the first time. One, the Short Font, is reprinted, as it were, but in reality it is a distinct translation made from another and slightly fuller version than the Bancroft manuscript. The Coues translation of one of the Garcés accounts is the only chronicle not included in this work. The author considers it more pertinent to the Colorado Basin and proposes to present it in a new translation at a later date. As far as California is concerned the work is definitive.

The story Bolton tells is an epic of the trail, but it bears with it an imperial setting. Basic capitals closely alligned with defensive salients and international borderlands thread their way through the pages. But so skilled is the artistry of the author that although fundamental, the structural center is never permitted to override the powerful borderland notes of trail blazing, frontier defense, or colony establishment.

Anza's California expeditions were two in number: One in 1774 for the opening of a land route from Sonora across the Colorado delta and the California deserts to the Pacific rim; and the other in 1775 for the leading of a colony from Culiacán to the imperiled harbor of San Francisco.

Volume one in this work is the author's own narration of the twice sixteen hundred mile march of both the trail blazing and colony planting bands. It is fittingly entitled *An Outpost of Empire*. Dynamic and vigorous, Bolton portrays a powerful tale. The swing and harmony of his composition is amazing with its freshness and engaging grip. As you read you travel with pack and caravan and with breathless reality you build camp and raft with the Anza men. Even the "water bottles" and "bundles of grass" transported by the desperate company become a vital part of your spiritual experiences as you cared for the famished stock on that grim *jornada* across the desert sands between the Colorado meadows and the precious springs in the California sierras.

In interpreting the bold trek of Juan Bautista de Anza, the commander of the California expeditions, Bolton has fittingly distinguished him as the "tireless horseman"—a son of the frontier silences. He it was who "bridged the desert and brought the detached ends of the trail together." Beloved at home and abroad he was the comfort of the frontier and the one official "who shed the light of hope in a remote corner of the world."

The Anza story reveals loyalty, devotion and sacrifice in the assumption of responsibility. Many fine figures ride with the desert captain. The master diarist and mathematician, Fray Pedro Font, frail but tenacious, kept the records of days and nights and tribal ways. Díaz, Eixarch, and Garcés crossed the trails as chronicler, missionary, and diplomat or circuit-rider. Nor does the student fail to detect the abiding influence of Anza senior on the aspirations of the son, or note the official drive of Gálvez and Bucareli and the glamour of courts at Madrid and Mexico City in this tale of borderland patrol.

Two thousand miles on a dusty trail; a caravan intent on making a path for humanity to follow; an answer to a cry for help on the far-off wilderness fringe of the north Pacific; a record of a pioneer band marching seaward, intent on home making and adventure; a glimpse into the Alta California establishments; a visit in Yuma Land; a pilgrimage with the cofot, Palma, to Mexico City; and a prophetic vision of imperial San Francisco tiptoe on the brink of the mighty western ocean lead us with Homeric pace to see the crimson and gold banners of old Spain triumphant over sunset seas. This is the Bolton story.

Volume two contains the records of the march of the expedition dispatched to mark out the land route from Sonora to California. Eight diaries preserve precious accounts of this epic movement, and as supplement to these narrations the author has added a Palóu diary which chronicles the exploration of San Francisco bay or estuary preparatory to the selection of the colony site.

Each manuscript breathes the spirit of the great adventure. A spirit which Bolton has caught and held for posterity in the graceful arrangement of the documents and in the translation of intricate passages. A glance at the order of placement and the directness of expression suffice. Editorial notes and splendid maps further illumined by associate views are likewise indicative of careful trail retracing and add emphasis and a note of thoroughness to the work. The way led from Tubac to Caborea, through the Papagueria, through the Yuma Country, across the Desert, over the Sierras to San Gabriel, to Monterey and back to the Colorado, and up the Gila and home—a tremendous jaunt with a remarkable company.

Anza was not alone. With him traveled two rare figures of the trail—the intrepid Garcés and the scholarly Díaz. The diaries of each of these Anza men lift the veil of desert barrenness and bring us face to face with action and achievement on that Spanish flank.

Volume three contains three of the five diaries kept on the second expedition: One by Anza, one by Font, and one by Eixarch. In addition to these, Professor Bolton has included the accounts of the founding of San Francisco by Father Palóu and by Lieutenant Moraga who were the principal figures in directing the placement of the colony after Captain Anza's return to Mexico City from Monterey, where he had left the San Francisco band.

Here as in volume two the diaries are happily translated and edited. Graphic chapter titles assist the reader in following Anza's version of the march of his people. With ease and acute understanding Bolton makes clear the reports of the preliminaries for the trek, regional and tribal encounters, significant camp and culture sites, new explorations, and incident and episode on the homeward bound march of the extra guard.

Moraga's account of the founding of San Francisco is fundamental. It gives invaluable information on those first days of building and assembling. Another priceless document in this volume is the diary left by Fray Thomás Eixarch, "A simple but graphic account of his long winter sojourn on the Colorado and of his humble daily tasks as missionary" says Bolton most succinctly.

The Eixarch document was copied by Font and preserved in his complete diary. But the author has wisely brought this "Lone Watch on the Colorado" into prominence by lifting it from its hidden position in the Font manuscript and giving it individuality.

The reader's attention is called to the exquisite chirography of Señor Anza as disclosed in the facsimiles from his diary. His signature alone opposite page 192 is a gem.

The whole story of the long procession of the San Francisco colony from Horcasitas to the Golden Gate is told by Father Font in volume four. This superb document is without a peer in western annals.

Chatty and voluble Font tells much that is passed over by the other chroniclers. Two cultures stand out in marked contrast, through his busy pen. The reader perceives the highly trained Spanish missionary standing in bold relief beside primitive western hemisphere rudiments.

A yearning for company and comfort as a panacea for his exasperating illness, during most of the journey, drove Font to seek strength beside Captain Anza. Sometimes he was rebuffed. But we profit at his expense, for his spirit took solace in his pen and precious allusions have been preserved. We might say for affliction we thank Thee, O Lord! It looseneth the tongue. Added to Font's afflictions was an ingrained fastidiousness which likewise caused him to record many incidents and descriptions which would otherwise have been lost. But without the Bolton touch, the involved form of Font's composition would have clouded our appreciation.

The diary is a boon to ethnologists, anthropologists, and geographers with its linguistic yield and its descriptive accounts of tribal customs, cultural landscapes, weather reports, population figures, graphic sketches and maps. Nor will the economist and sociologist be disappointed. They will find a treasure list in saddle bag contents, campfire menus, articles for barter, means of transportation, kinds of livestock (domestic and wild), accounts of amusements and diversions, medical practices, lists of clothing, and price-lists of commodities. In fact a record of everything from hair ribbons and shoelaces, to Apache ponies and Channel Island launches is found in this unique diary.

Font's diary is also a study in character for he gives us the colony list. Fastidious and zealous the missionary-scientist was quite puritan in his outlook and impatient with human frailties. Under the standards of St. Michael, St. Francis, and the Virgin of Guadalupe, he estimated his latitudes, chanted his beloved hymns, and preached his crusade regardless of caliche dust, negligent flock, gossipy señoras or disturbed nature. He would serve and follow Anza. Unlike his chaplain, Don Juan was silent. Self-controlled and without guile or dissimulation he kept his perspective. Standing by also were Sebastian, Palma, and Pablo, all Indian guides or native hosts, who together reveal mixed traits of childlike credulity and loyalty coupled with curiosity and forgivable conceit. As lieutenant and camp assistant to Anza Joaquín Moraga was indispensable. But the most joyous figure on the whole trek was the modest Garcés who dared the untamed trail alone. "Nobody worried much for this man's safety" says Bolton most aptly. Only he and his guardian angel will ever know the whole story for "writing was a weariness to his spirit," continues the author.

The art of the translator is here attained. A mere glance at the involved structure of the manuscript as revealed in the occasional facsimiles scattered throughout the volume gives an immediate sense of appreciation for the author's care in eliminating heavy underlining and entangled phrasing. Bolton's *Font* is a rare document, rich with grace. At once the reader is "Queyó" or friend. He is able to understand padre and neophyte, colonists and soldiers guard, and to follow with delight the trek of these first California enthusiasts.

Volume five is a unit, containing communications pertinent to both the first and the second Anza expeditions. Two major divisions characterize the make up of the book, but each carries with it minor interpretative groupings of letters, council decisions, declarations, commissions, and certificates.

The documents relative to the "Genesis" of the first expedition constitute a happy selection of materials which throw light on viceregal machinery in action. Therein Captain Anza is discerned as a true son of the border, and therein is gleaned an insight into the care and thoroughness with which the home and colonial governments watched over even their most remote frontier outpost. The "Official Reports" of the first expedition take the reader back to capital centers and gives immediate acquaintance with Viceroy Bucareli in Mexico City and Julián Arriaga in Madrid. Once the Anza expedition got under way "Letters Written Enroute" began to pour into the Aztec capital. These documents supplant the more pretentious diaries in volume two and give close up information on problems of the moment. With facsimile before us we readily understand why tentside writing was an irksome pastime for Garcés. By his personal pen we are led to sympathise with Serra and his milk diet, as he attempted to salvage his precious mission cows.

Correspondence relative to the second expedition is a fund of information on colony-planting and colony equipment. Echeveste's memorandum alone is a gem for the economist; while Bucareli's letters connoting fatherly concern for the welfare of the California establishments are a neat refutation of the long-lived myth of Spanish lassitude and greed. With meticulous care the expedition was prepared. Once on the march the "Echoes from the Trail" give check on assumption of responsibility. As with the first expedition the "Official Reports" reveal the satisfaction and confidence with which the administration viewed this frontier achievement. But halfway between Sonora and the Philippine Sea lay Yuma Land, and around this crucial delta zone much of the Anza correspondence revolves. It was with no small satisfaction that Bucareli in Mexico noted the signature or mark of Palma, the Yuma chief, to a friendship making petition, or to witness the ceremony and read the account of his official baptism. All was now "Queyé."

Anza had bridged the desert trail; St. Francis had his mission on his own harbor at last; the Yumas were in festive mood; Spain's royal banner floated o'er the north Pacific. Bucareli was pleased. Colonel Anza was happy. He was ready for fresh adventure.

This is the story Bolton has told. It is vibrant with literary charm and scholarly achievement. Font's pessimistic philosophy—*Nihil sub sole Novum*—is all wrong. Bolton has refuted it. He has given us something *new* under the sun.

L. F. S.

*The Missions and Missionaries of California.* Vol. II: Upper California. Second Revised Edition. By ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M. (Santa Barbara: Old Mission, Santa Barbara, Calif. 1930. Pp. xix, 706.)

Coming at a time when interest in the great Junípero Serra is very keen, the present volume, called by the author in his preface "the most important of the entire series", is particularly welcome. First published in 1912, it now appears in a second edition thoroughly revised and amended, with several notable additions and typographical improvements.

The purpose of Father Engelhardt is not only to portray the origin of the Upper California missions and the problems relating to their administration, but also to defend the missionaries especially against the unjust attacks of Hittel and Bancroft.

In the introduction (pp. 1-26) the author enumerates and describes the abundant sources, manuscript and printed, and the more important literature. Regarding his own method the author states that he had "confined himself to original Spanish documents and to such authors as have based their endeavors upon these same sources or wrote from personal observation" (p. 1).

The volume is divided into three sections: the first, the Administration of Fr. Junípero Serra (pp. 27-431) covering the years 1768 until 1784, the year of his death. Serra, since 1767 *presidente* of the Lower California missions, accepted the invitation of Inspector-General Joseph de Galvez to convert the natives of the Pacific coast territory, which he was sent to occupy in 1768. Nine missions were the result of the first *presidente's* efforts: San Diego in 1769, San Carlos in 1770, San Antonio and San Gabriel in 1771, San Luis Obispo in 1772, San Francisco and San Juan Capistrano in 1776, Santa Clara in 1777, and San Buenaventura in 1782. In his labors Fr. Serra was ably assisted by that other valiant friar, Francisco Palóu, his biographer and the historian of New California.

Section II: the Administration of Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, 1785-1803 (pp. 433-615) records the founding of nine more missions, Santa Barbara in 1786, Purisima Concepcion in 1787, Santa Cruz and Nuestra Señora Dolorosisima in 1791, San Francisco Solano, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel and San Fernando in 1797, and in 1789 San Luis Rey, the most populous of all the missions.

Section III: the Administration of Fr. Estévan Tápis, 1803-1812 (pp. 617-670), occurring during the first decade of the nineteenth (not *eighteenth,* p. 619) century, designated as "the Golden Age of the California missions". Only one mission, that of Santa Inés (1804) was founded. This section, formerly joined to the preceding one, is now separated in order to give the third *presidente* his proper standing.

The labors of the Franciscan missionaries often form an "historia dolorosa". They were few in number—only two at each mission; they received meager financial support; their work was among Indians, "the most stupid, brutish, lazy and improvident of the aboriginies of America" (p. 245). Added to these difficulties was the almost continual interference of the Spanish officials not only in temporal but also in purely spiritual affairs. The very mission system of reductions was repeatedly threatened. More than once the author censures the union of Church and State as then understood by Spain, *e. g.,* when Fr. Serra was forced to suspend the public administration of Confirmation on the pretext that he had not received the *pase* of the Real Patronato (Ch. XVIII). Under hostile officials such as Rivera, Neve and Fages conditions became intolerable.

A dozen appendices complete the volume; the first of these, *Fr. Junípero Serra and His Traducers,* and the last, *Los Angeles—The Date of Founding,* are new additions. Well selected illustrations help to make the bulky tome attractive.

Minor things that could be criticized are: the accounts of the expeditions could be better summarized, for with their oft-repeated details they tax the patience of the reader; *Interamna* (p. 493) is the Italian city of *Terni*; Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di Bibliografia . . . Sanfrancescana* (Prato, 1879) would have been enlightening, and the letters of Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui edited in *Archivo Ibero-Americano,* IV, 1915, 104-120, have escaped the author's notice. There is no index. For the present we must be content with arriving at the approximate page with the aid of the indices to vols. II-IV published in 1916.

These remarks, however, do not lessen the value of this magnificent work. The call for a second edition is its finest testimonial.

*House of Theology,*
*Oldenburg, Ind.*

JOHN B. WUEST, O.F.M.

*Church and State in Massachusetts (1740-1833): A Chapter in the History of the Development of Individual Freedom.* By JACOB C. MEYER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Western Reserve University. (Cleveland: Western University Press. 1930. Pp. viii, 276.)

This volume discusses those events in Massachuetts between 1740 and 1833 which led to complete disestablishment. It shows how division in the ranks of the Established Church after the Great Awakening led the Separatists to join the Baptists, thus giving greater strength to the latter sect in its opposition. Baptists, Quakers, and Episcopalians then kept up a continuous struggle against the Established Church. Not, however, until the split of the Congregational Church into Trinitarian and Unitarian groups in the early nineteenth century had weakened that body was it possible to pass an amendment to the State Constitution bringing about disestablishment.

The story is clearly told. Economic, political, as well as religious factors are properly emphasized. At the end of each chapter are helpful summarizing paragraphs, and the entire work is concluded with a separate chapter which very helpfully epitomizes the work. Bibliographies are extensive and complete. There is an adequate index.

As one reads the work and finds little or no mention of Catholics or Catholicity, one recalls Father Guilday's statement in the *Life and Times of John Carroll:* "It is an idle fancy to assert that either the number or social position of Catholics during the War (Revolution) had the effect of creating the policy of non-interference in religious matters which has been the guiding star of the American spirit since that time." This statement would seem to apply to conditions even up to 1833.

*Teachers' College, Boston.* WILLIAM H. J. KENNEDY.

*Vie de Monseigneur de Charbonnel, Évêque de Toronto.* Candide Causse, O.M. Cap. (Paris: Tequi, 1931. Pp. viii, 309.)

The biography of Bishop Armand François Marie de Charbonnel, second Bishop of Toronto, Canada, brings into prominence the striking figure of a great warrior in the Church of Canada. Born of rich and noble parents in 1802, he joined the Sulpicians in 1825. When Queen Marie-Amélie commenced negotiations to have him made bishop in France, he went to Canada in 1840 to escape the mitre. Ten years later, however, he was forced by the pope to accept the bishopric of Toronto and was consecrated by Pius IX at Rome. Toronto at that time was, as the pope said, the poorest diocese of Christendom. Bishop Charbonnel cleared the cathedral of a debt of $60,000, sacrificing his patrimony. In 1852 he attended by special privilege the First Plenary Baltimore Council and submitted the case of taxing the parishes ten per cent. The fathers decided in his favor and the bishop acted upon this decision thereby introducing this custom into Canada. His greatest work was the vindication of the Separated Schools *i. e.*, free or parochial schools. Bishop Charbonnel was the leader in the fight against the government for a legal status of the parochial schools. He was likewise successful in obtaining from the government an annual subsidy from the Clergy Reserves for the bishops of Ontario. On July 2, 1862, Bishop Lynch, his successor, wrote to the retired prelate: "All those things, with a thousand others, have justly earned for your Lordship the title of Father and founder of the diocese of Toronto."

Despite his successes Bishop Charbonnel considered himself incapable for his post. He had an especially low opinion about his English. Nevertheless, the Canadian bishops testified in their report to Rome that he was despite his handicaps one of the best English orators of Canada. In 1859, Bishop Charbonnel obtained as coadjutor an Irishman, the Rt. Rev. J. J. Lynch, and resigned the following year to enter the Capuchin Order, where he lived for thirty-one years. His chief activity after his entrance into the Order was to preach the work of the Propagation of Faith and to act as auxiliary to the Archbishop of Lyons. With his successor in Toronto he kept up a constant correspondence. Finally he died in the Capuchin monastery at Crest in France on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1891. Bishop Charbonnel was always very out-spoken in his views and remarkable for his democratic ways.

J. M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.

*Hays, Kansas.*

*Cornelia Connelly, Fondatrice de la Société du Holy Child Jésus, 1809-1879. Par Une Religieuse de Son Ordre.* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1931. Pp. vi, 235.)

A real biographical study is something more than a mere chronological listing of facts, because the so-called facts of life, *i. e.*, those which may be defined in terms of days and months and years, are but the evidence of the working of principles and forces which really determine the character of any life. The latter is understandable only when these same principles and forces are put in the proper perspective.

The work under consideration is hardly of such proportions as to warrant classification among biographies laying pretense to absolute completeness of detail. It may, however, be very correctly listed as a mature study of the meaning which such detail can connote. The selection of facts is singularly felicitous inasmuch as we are made cognizant not only of the events that marked off the progress of Cornelia Connelly's life, but also those circumstances which served to make that progress easily discernible.

What really constitutes the excellence of this study is the happy presentation of the cardinal ideas (in the very words of the Foundress herself) which made up her philosophy of life, and, therefore, explained all she attempted to do. It is not, however, a haphazard presentation, nor again is it an adherence simply to strict chronology. The author has very wisely displayed the natural sequence of the dominating ideas in the mind of Cornelia Connelly together with their clear application in those successive happenings that are attributable more to the Creator's permission than the creature's choice. There is ever present in the mind of God's servant very real awareness of her dependence and her instrumentality. These naturally occasion a peaceful expectancy regarding the outcome of each and every vicissitude, however trying. The results, of course, show the wisdom of such a mode of life.

The author has likewise been very successful in the introduction of those more sordid details that have to do with the career of Pierce Connelly. There is a delicacy in the handling of these facts which a prudent and scholarly charity alone can dictate. The reader is thereby relieved of the danger of having his attention drawn to the shadows rather than the lights which these shadows are meant to enhance.

The reader of this work will be richly rewarded. His mind will be stored with an array of facts improved in their interest because of their comparatively recent origin; the philosophy in the light of which these same facts are explained is of such broad and sane proportions as to suggest adoption; and, what is very often the best test of many works, he will find awakened in him a reluctance to stop and a desire to re-read.

The excellence of this study certainly entitles it to a worth-while preface, but perhaps it is just as well that it is denied this trimming. The curious glimpse that ripens into the studied gaze is the experience that awaits the reader. It is just so that we often come upon the most interesting experiences in life, and the same illusion is well preserved here.

The book deserves a large distribution both by reason of its content and the agreeable presentation.

John M. A. Sparrow, O.S.A.

*Villanova College.*

*Mother Alphonsa: Rose Hawthorne Lathrop.* By J. J. Walsh. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. 275. $2.25.)

This book has been received with more than ordinary interest: first because of the personality of the individual involved; second, because of the unique character of her work; and lastly, because of the fitness of the biographer for his task. Perhaps compiler would be a better term, for the book is in no sense a biography of this youngest daughter of Nathaniel

Hawthorne. Nor does it make pretense of so being. For biographical material Dr. Walsh makes frequent references to the sketch of her life written by her brother which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He but makes a compilation of the writings of Mother Alphonsa and her associates.

The era in which we are living has been called the most bewildering hour in the history of the world. Capitalism is on trial for its continued existence; democracy is being questioned; educational methods are being excoriated; scientific creeds are tottering. Whitehead says the mere compulsion of tradition has lost its force. In the midst of this chaos, is it not a relief to find one who has seen a definite need and has set herself simply, and self-sacrificingly to fill it? Rose Hawthorne Lathrop saw the problem of cancer in modern medicine in its relation to the helpless poor. She started with three rooms and a kitchen on the Lower East Side of New York. After thirty-two years of labor, she left two asylums to shelter the cancerous poor in New York; St. Rose's Home in the city itself, and Rosary Hill Home at Hawthorne.

Her brother Julian writing of her death said: "Mother Alphonsa was gone; but she had lived long enough to see her work well done and promising to endure perhaps as long as the need which it relieved." She had hoped that her work would extend to other cities besides New York and so helped to solve one phase at least of the cancer problem. It seems that her hope was to be realized; since her death a home for the care of the cancer poor, which is known as the Sacred Heart Free Home for Incurable Cancer has been opened in Philadelphia. While this is being written arrangements are being made for still another foundation in the city of Detroit. The prerequisites stipulated for entrance into all these homes are those which were laid down by the foundress herself, namely, the patient must have incurable cancer, that is physicians must have declared that there is no hope of recovery, and the patient must have absolutely no money.

The author of this book, Dr. James J. Walsh, needs no introduction either to the Catholic reading world, or to the American medical world; hence, his eminent fitness for the task which he has here performed. He was in close touch with Mother Alphonsa and assisted in her labors from their humble beginnings. No more able or sympathetic pen could have undertaken the task of providing us with this inspiring sketch of the life and work of Mother Alphonsa Hawthorne.

Sister MARY CELESTE.

*St. Xavier College, Chicago, Illinois.*

*Femmes Heroiques Les Soeurs Grises Canadiennes aux Glaces Polaires.* By R. P. DUCHAUSSOIS. (Paris: Editions Spes. 1928. Pp. 247.)

> Narrow, fragile canoes, perilous cascades and rapids, rude wagons drawn by slow stupid oxen, forced marches, treacherous bogs, nights in the open, millions of mosquitoes, wind, rain, ice, storms, shipwreck, always the assurance of extremes of temperature—.

The first impression upon reading such a story is one compounded equally of admiration, awe, and envy. We admire the courage which carried these religious women over the thousands of miles of rivers, lakes and portages which lie between Montreal and the mouth of the Mackenzie river. We marvel at the heroic devotion to an ideal which led these trail breakers before the days of railroads, through a wilderness of rock and muskeg, tangled forests and rock strewn rivers. We envy them the reward which is already theirs in the success of their enterprises; we envy them the still greater reward which is awaiting them.

This is the first thought, but a second follows quickly. The historian reads in this saga another exemplification of the dictum, "The flag follows the footsteps of the missionaries." In 1844, five Grey Nuns travelled for fifty-nine uninterrupted days from Montreal to St. Boniface on Lake Winnipeg. In 1844 these five Grey nuns were housed in one small wooden building. Today in that province twenty convents shelter more than three hundred religious of the same order. The increase in population has been so rapid that by 1870 the Red River Expedition passed over the Kaminsetikwia route, the same followed by the sisters to a population of some twelve thousand *metis.*

Similar stories might be told for every stage of the westward march. By 1867, the sisters were to be found at Notre Dame de la Province on Great Slave Lake. The earlier stages of this journey were accomplished with greater comfort than had been experienced by the pioneers of 1844, since now Chicago to St. Paul could be made by rail. But after that came the same hardships of pioneer travel. In wagonettes drawn by oxen they reached the Red River of the North; the rest of the way was over a road interrupted by numerous torrents and short rapid rivers. Among Indians and whites they labored in the dioceses of Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, and Prince Albert, in the vicariates of Athabasca and Mackenzie—sometimes a step in advance of, sometimes keeping step with the backward push of the Canadian frontier. Traders, immigrants, and surveyers followed or accompanied them.

Spengler has put the question: "Is there a logic of history? Is there beyond all the casual and incalculable elements of the separate events something which is essentially independent of the outward forms which we see?" But St. Augustine had answered the query fifteen centuries before Spengler asked it. Augustine defined that "something" as "the universal Providence of God in the laws of which all things are comprehensible." "God," he insists, "can never be believed to have left the Kingdom of men, their dominations and servitudes outside of the laws of His Providence."

Under the Providence of God, Grey Nuns and Oblate Fathers were early, in some case the earliest, participants in the drama of the westward moving Canadian Frontier.

Sister MARY CELESTE.

*St. Xavier College, Chicago, Illinois.*

*Modern History: The Rise of a Democratic, Scientific and Industrialized Civilization.* By CARL BECKER. (New York: Silver, Burdett Company. 1931. Pp. xiv, 825-24.)

A text-book by Carl Becker should be welcome to the teaching fraternity, apart from the fact that in the year in which it appears he is president of their national organization—the American Historical Association. No one can escape the charm of his personality—it is evident at once, and it appears on the first page of his preface and continues throughout the book. One "would be a lost soul" if bereft of some knowledge of history; everyone "knows some history, enough at least to stumble along in the world; history is no more than things said and done in the past . . . and we might as well omit the word 'past,' since everything said and done is already in the past as soon as it is said and done. Done, but not done with." (p. v).

Professor Becker heads his chapters in a fresh, inviting fashion. Thus chapter I, "in which we explain what Modern History is about;" chapter VI, "The French People in the Eighteenth Century: How the few lived well without working, and how the many worked without living well;" chapter IX, "How Napoleon set France right side up and turned Europe upside down . . . ;" chapter XXI, "The Great War, 1914-1918: How Europe was turned upside down in order to make the World safe for Democracy;" chapter XXII, "The Peace Conference of 1919, in which many Treaties were somehow made;" chapter XXIII, "The new world of today, which is only the old world trying to get its bearings." Not less fresh is Professor Becker's treatment of subject matter. Before writing of the French Revolution, he asks the French people to "abandon business and pleasures to sit for a picture," that we may know what government and society were like in the Age of Kings and Nobles (pp. 144-145). Note the chart for chapter IX on page 351, showing graphically the progress of the liberal and revolutionary spirit from 1815 to 1850. At times Professor Becker seems not to have been able to free himself from the American feeling about Bismarck and the Kaiser and the War. Is it true that

Napoleon III himself did not want war "with Prussia in 1870" (p. 441)? Likewise, did the Kaiser labor to destroy the British Empire (p. 136) and, "by shaking the mailed fist," do "much to increase international fear and to bring about the great war" (p. 560)? By what right did England and France agree to bargain about Morocco? Nevertheless, Professor Becker will only "ask" (but not "answer") the important question, who was responsible for the great war (p. 674) and the statements of what each of the Great Powers might have done is far in advance of what is to be found in many text-books in general use today. Particularly well done is the last chapter on present day affairs and tendencies.

The volume is well illustrated. A novel and valuable feature is the attempt to graph the subject matter of the chapters. Pointed questions are appended to the chapters.

P. G.

*Martin Luther: His Life and Work.* By HARTMAN GRISAR, S. J. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1930. Pp. x, 609.)

The present book is a digest of the major effort of the greatest living authority on the subject. A three volume work appeared in the first German edition in 1911-1912 and is now in its third edition 1924-1925 (Freiburg i. Br.). An English translation of the same appeared in six volumes (London and St. Louis, 1913-1917). Each German volume, of nearly 1000 pages each, treated Luther with a consummate science in his character, temperament, interior evolution, development of his thought, origin of his writings, and the events surrounding his struggle for the new gospel. Because of the huge bulk of his major work, it was too formidable to most students, and so Father Grisar made it more available by summarizing it in one volume. This appeared under the title, *Martin Luther's Leben und sein Werk* (Freiburg i. Br.: 1927).

Father Grisar's objective in the book under consideration is: What happened in that period of upheaval and, above all, how is the responsible author of the struggle to be judged in his interior and exterior life?

The first part of the objective does not seem to have been adequately attained for many readers, but the second is beyond doubt reached, though some might find a weakness in the synthesis. Regarding the presentation of the events in the period, it is thought that there is a lack of a possible, and that essential and useful, synthesis of the Catholic situation, especially in reference to the Papacy and the Roman Curia. These and other subjects are indeed mentioned, and at times with detail, but as a rule are lost in the milling of a thousand facts. Adventure may discover that the reader cannot see the woods because of the trees. In the treatment of Luther's interior and exterior life there is superb work, but possibly there is not enough synthesis introduced at the proper places in the study.

The method of approach to narrating facts is very clever, for it seems that Father Grisar by indirection and suggestive guidance, permits the reader to complete quite evident conclusions. A good example of this method is afforded by the plain statement that Luther was incomparably courageous, and then the author tranquilly narrates events and situations in which Luther found himself, and wherein no special courage was manifested or needed, with the result that the reader immediately decides that Father Grisar is mistaken in the matter.

It may be safely said that Father Grisar's foregoing method is a much abler one when it is desired to secure a non-Catholic reading public, than the one followed by Father Denifle, who was by far more blunt in his story. It may be safely declared too that if Father Denifle had not plainly written about Luther, thereby tearing away the traditional "touch-me-not" attitudes, Father Grisar would not be able to move about so easily in the truly terrifying texts which Luther left.

Father Denifle prefaced his unique work with the conclusion that the key to Luther's character was mendaciousness, and his work amply supported it. Father Grisar judged it best to go leisurely through his book to arrive at the same conclusion. Of the two portraits drawn, it is believed that Grisar's is the most revealing and repulsive, and this notwithstanding the subtler approach and attack.

Father Grisar's work is monumental; now a work is available in one volume to readers of English, in which, beyond a rare science and talent, there exists a source for evaluating some of the legends and tales very much current about Luther.

Besides a wonderful exposition of Luther's ideas and the progress of these the work is extraordinarily interesting for its delineation of his helpers and Catholic antagonists, especially the writers; for the story of state invasion of Church affairs and the truly satanic hatred of the Papacy. Without exaggeration, it may be said that if intelligent Americans want to realize the veritable sources for the prevailing ideas regarding Rome and governments, they must turn to this book.

The work has an adequate apparatus of footnotes, bibliography, and index.

It is needless to say that the work is not suited to the average reader, and is primarily a work for mature students. It cannot be recommended to the young nor to the adult who is not rather well read.

The translation on the whole is very good, still it presents many irritating contacts. A sensitive reader gasps at the frequent occurrence of words like "so-called", "already", "even", "only", and "yet". Again the choice in spelling is irritating in words like Henry Seuses (Suso), Peter Waldus (Waldo), Nizza (Nice), Philip of Hessen (Hesse), Koblentz, Konrad, Braunschweig (Brunswick), and Schmalkalden (Schmalkald). Other sources of irritation are: lack of consistent capitalization and wrong capitalization; strange words or expressions like "Grobian Age" (grobianischen Zeitalters), "high feast days" (höchsten), "dilatory impediments" (prohibitory is the correct word), "provenience", "Protocols" (minutes it should be, or records), "disfellowshipped", and so on; transpositions occur infrequently; sequence of tenses is at times baffling; "at" for "in", "of" for "on", and "a" for "the" help to exasperate at times; there are at least fifteen misspelled words, and omissions at times like "St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians" (I or II?).

It is believed that the translator would have aided in the evaluation of his work had he mentioned that the translation is rather liberal. This is evident from a superficial comparison with the original. Here one example may be given: On page 483 of the original a sentence runs: "Der Eintritt der Juden in sein neues Christenthum sollte ein göttliches Siegel auf die Wittenberger Predigt sein." and its translation is (page 542): "The acceptance of his gospel on the part of the Jews was to be a divine seal of approval."

Comparison with the original discovered only one serious discrepancy, and it is thought necessary to emphasize it, because it is doctrinally incorrect and would reflect adversely upon the author. For convenience both the original and translation are given as follows: "Immer hat die Kirche gelehrt, dass auch unter einer Gestalt der ganze Heiland anwesend sei und genossen werde, und dass in der Brotgestalt nicht bloss 'stückweise' das Sakrament sei." (p. 136). The translation is: "The Church has always taught that Christ is present whole and entire in, and consumed under, each form, and that the Sacrament is but 'partially' present under the form of bread." (p. 150).

Until a thorough comparison has been made between the two texts, and the result given out, scholars who desire to quote the work for the purpose of research will, perhaps, go to the original. For all practical purposes, however, it is believed that, with the one exception listed, the work is highly reliable.

PETER LEO JOHNSON.

*St. Francis, Wis.*

*The Position and Prospects of the Catholic Church in English-Speaking Lands.* By GEORGE STEBBING, C.SS.R. (Edinburgh and London: Sands and Co. 1930. Pp. 316. 3/6.)

The very nature of such a book as this tends to disarm criticism. The reviewer is so lost in wonder at the marvelous growth of the Church in numbers and in spiritual and intellectual power that the critical faculty is suspended. But, to be frank, the most serious objection that can be raised is that the book is overwhelmingly concerned with the British Isles in spite of the promise of the title; yet we may hope that this very fact will serve to stimulate some American to compile a similar volume for the Church here. The chapter on statistics is especially valuable, not only because of the useful disquisition on the mode of ascertaining approximately accurate figures, but also because of the surprisingly large number of Catholics in English-speaking countries. Of the fifty-two millions there tabulated, one-seventh of the world total, thirty-five millions are assigned to the United States and, though they can hardly be called English-speaking, Porto Rico and the Philippines. The corresponding hierarchy numbers 335 archbishoprics, bishoprics, and vicariates, of which 120 are assigned to the United States and its possessions.

Chapters are assigned to all the major matters of interest in connection with the life and activity of the Church and its members. It is really astounding how far-reaching and how profound is the present influence of the Church among those who use our tongue, especially in the British Empire. Things have certainly changed in the hundred and fifty years since Carroll and the Gordon Riots.

The volume should be carefully studied not merely for its informative value in statistics and personalities, but because of its clear analysis of needs and opportunities. Though some of these are too local to England to affect us, many of them are just as actual here in the United States as under the Union Jack. Lastly, and not least, the volume is a spiritual tonic for those among us of little faith or courage.

P. G.

*Pioneering in China.* By REV. MARION A. HABIG, O.F.M. (Chicago. 1930. Pp. xiv, 153. Price $1.75.)

The present volume commemorates the "fiftieth anniversary of American establishment of Catholic Missions in China (1881-1931)". Such purpose is inadvertently somewhat misleading, as it might possibly give the impression that organized missions were established at such a relatively early date by one or other of the American Orders or Congregations interested directly in the work of Foreign Missions. It is a bit wide of the mark to suggest anything like fifty years of mission activity on the part of Catholic America. It is extremely doubtful if the slightest effort in organizing Catholic America for the work of the missions in foreign lands has been undertaken by any group other than the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, until twenty years ago. Limited as that society was in scope and resources, we may say that except for some scattered individual efforts this work was entirely neglected before that period.

The fact of the matter is, as the present volume attests, that in 1881 Father Athanasius Goette—later bishop—and three other priests left the United States to begin mission labors in China. These four, however, were born in Germany and made their major ecclesiastical studies in this country. The author refers to Bishop Goette as the first American bishop in China. The volume chiefly concerns itself with Father Xavier Engbring, the real pioneer American missioner to China, who left the United States in 1888 for China, where he died seven years later, in the midst of his zealous labors.

As can be judged, these truly apostolic men were not sent out to establish missions which were to be supplied in the future from the recruitment of American personnel. Rather, they were to be brigaded, as it were, with their European confreres. We make this point only because we must furnish an explanation of the yawning chasm that separates the departure of Father Engbring in 1888 and that of the two missioners who left in 1907, to be followed by a third in 1911. It was in 1922 that the first organized band of American Franciscan missioners left for the missions.

The major portion of this volume concerns itself with Father Engbring. If anything we regret the volume is not larger so that we might be enabled to know more of this sterling young apostle. Unfortunately, except for the memory of a few surviving classmates and associates, and some few letters which he himself wrote, there are apparently few, if any, available sources for a better knowledge of the life and sacrifices of this heroic priest. Alas! does not this point out silently the fact that the generous sacrifice of this zealous apostle has hitherto made too little impression.

Father Engbring's immediate predecessors were European in tradition and missionary outlook, since only a few years of their early manhood were passed in the United States. In the light of European mission endeavor they were merely striking out along the lines of an established tradition. From their native land many had already gone to the work of foreign missions. But in the case of Father Engbring, we have one who could not appeal directly to precedent, but had to launch out boldly towards the full realization of his noble vocation with only the hallowed tradition of his own glorious missionary Order as an incentive. God's message had reached his priestly heart and he was able to look beyond the fields of his immediate neighborhood and see the whitening harvest stretching limitless beyond the distant horizon. If Father Engbring had hoped that his example would stimulate others in his own life-time to a like endeavor, he was doomed to disappointment. The present volume bears no definite record that any other of his confreres followed until 1907—twelve years after his death.

The claim of the author that Father Engbring was the first American priest to labor and die in China is now fully justified by available records. The present reviewer, in fact, had occasion to revise a whole page in the second edition of *The Maryknoll Movement*—1927—to square with this just claim. Due to lack of available printed sources, it is only the past few years that have made known this early effort on the part of the sons of St. Francis.

It seems scarcely accurate for the author (Preface, p. ix) to refer to the departure of Father Goette and his three companions in 1881 as the beginning of an "exodus of American missionaries to China". Even at the present day the term is hardly justified. But in God's Providence, may it be fully realized soon! Such an exodus abroad will strengthen the work at home. The knowledge of the sacrifice of this young priest should do much to hasten it. This is the mission of the little volume and all who are interested in the missions should feel grateful to Father Habig for this account of the zealous young missioner who has shed such lustre on his own order. May this mission be realized in a wide circle of readers.

*Maryknoll, N. Y.* George C. Powers.

*Evêques Russes en Exil. Douze ans d'Epreuves* (*1918-1930*). Par Michel d'Herbigny, S. J., et Alexandre Deubner, Prêtre Russe. (*Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XII, No. 67. Rome. 1931. Pp. 283.)

This is the story, in form of chronicle, of the scission, or schism between the two rival groups of the Tykhonian Hierarchy of the Russian Diaspora. After a brief introduction (insufficient, we think) the authors in the first part (pp. 12-172) relate in form of chronicle the antecedents, genesis, development and fixation of the schism. A second part (pp. 173-231) shows the attitude of the "sister churches" in regard to the two rivaling factions. Fifteen appendices (pp. 232-271) follow. A copious bibliography (pp. 272-280) and a table of contents (pp. 281-283) close the book.

The story of the case is, as briefly as possible, as follows: Antonios Metropolite of Kiev, with some other members of the Russian hierarchy, all of them refugees (rather than exiled), had organized (1921) in Karlovtsy, Serbia, a synod for which they claimed administrative powers over all the Russian churches abroad. This synod was nothing but a reorganization under a different name (A. E. S. R. E. *administration ecclésiastique suprême de Russie à l'étranger*) of a former one which formed itself spontaneously in the territories of Southern Russia then occupied by the armies of General Denikin, with which it retreated gradually until finally it crossed the border. While still on Russian territory, this former organization had appointed (at his own request) Eulogios, Archbishop of Volhynia and Jitomir, administrator of the Russian Churches of Western

Europe, an appointment which was confirmed by Patriarch Tykhon, first in 1921, and twice again in 1922.

As soon, however, as reorganized in Serbia, the synod over which Antonios presided as the senior member of the hierarchy of the Diaspora claimed administrative jurisdiction over all territories outside of Russia. Hence the friction between the two protagonists. For some time however, all went well enough. Antonios, as president of the synod, called, from year to year, councils in which Eulogios participated and whose decrees he signed with the other bishops. By one of these decrees his eparchy was raised to the rank of an autonomous metropolitan circumscription. He was well pleased. But when, under circumstances particularly disagreeable to him, his circumscription was reduced in size by the erection of his vicariate of Berlin into a diocese, he rebelled against the synod whose canonicity he began to question. The synod retaliated by an indictment to appear for trial before the synod, which he refused to do; but he was nevertheless condemned, suspended from his office and a successor was appointed for him. The schism long smoldering between the two factions was consummated (1927). They continued however, each claiming the explicit or implicit approval of the Patriarch of Moscow. In fact both factions were as uncanonical as could be.

All this first part of the book is rather difficult reading, for lack of cross-references and of an alphabetical index of contents at the end of the book.

Part II of the book, *l'épiscopat russe de l'étranger et les "églises soeurs"*, makes much better reading. Particularly interesting are chapters I-V, devoted to the reaction of the Patriarchs of Constantinople to the conflict. They reject both Eulogios and the Karlovtsy synod, as entirely uncanonical. Of all the autocephalous churches, they claim that Constantinople alone as the Oecumenic See, has jurisdiction beyond its own territorial borders, over territories where no other autonomous church is organized. Consistently with this doctrine, Patriarch Gregory VII, in 1924, organized all Europe (Finland included) into six eparchies with jurisdiction, under himself and his successors, over all Russian churches established in their respective territories. At the same time the Oecumenic patriarchs maintained friendly relations with the various church organizations of Russia, sovietizing or not, under pretext of helping the Russian sister church out of trouble, while in fact they were trying to bring her back to their own fold.

Of the other churches (chapter VI) those of Alexandria and Athens were for Eulogios, those of Jerusalem, Cyprus, Sinai, Serbia for Karlovtsy. But at the same time, strange to say, Alexandria and Jerusalem kept on good terms, like Constantinople, with the sovietizing churches of Russia, even after Archbishop Serge, acting custodian of the Patriarchal

See of Moscow for Peter (imprisoned), had condemned first the synod of Karlovtsy and then Eulogios himself, for having refused to sign a declaration of loyalty to the Soviets. Chapters VII and VIII are also well worth reading. They contain, the former an outline of the constitution of the Church by a theologian of the Eulogian persuasion, the latter an estimate of the canonical position of the two rivals. His conclusions are surprising! The annual council of Karlovtsy is anticanonical, and Archbishop Antonios has no jurisdiction except over the parishes submitted to him in Serbia with the consent of the Patriarch of that country. Eulogios on the other hand, was certainly entrusted by the Patriarch Tykhon with the temporary administration of the Russian churches of Western Europe, *but it is no less certain that Tykhon had no jurisdiction whatsoever to make such appointment.* In a last chapter and the two pages of conclusions, which follow, the authors point to the various ills with which the Russian Church is now afflicted (laicism, conciliary democratism, cesaropapism, anti-catholicism) and to the only remedy, namely, the return to union with the Roman Church, under the Pope, whose authority and jurisdiction know no territorial limits. We are surprised it did not occur to the two distinguished authors to parallel, by way of illustration of their point, the present case of the Russian emigration with that of the *emigrés* during the French Revolution.

The fifteen appendices are also full of interest, but we have already too far overstepped the reasonable limits of a simple review to insist on them; let us remark, however, that like the second part of the book, they contain a great deal of information, which if worked into the introduction, would greatly have enhanced the attractiveness of the book, which, besides the defects already indicated seems to have been rather hastily gotten up (let this be said without detracting from its intrinsic value.)

*Catholic University of America.* H. HYVERNAT.

*The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928.* By WILLIAM PRESTON SLOSSON. Foreword by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. [History of American Life, Vol. 12.] (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. xviii, 486. $5.00.)

Articles and books by the Slossons are always sprightly, very much alive, and this work is not an exception. Covering the last period, 1914-1918, of the series, the volume was a trying one to write. Its mature readers will be of very many different levels of intelligence and of most diverse interests in life; hence, they are likely to find fault with the author for not having given more space to this phase of life or that, for not having cited their explanations for this phenomenon or that, for not reaching their conclusions about things in particular or in general. The reviewer, too, is consequently set a difficult task in trying to be fair.

Dr. Slosson begins his account of contemporary America with the outbreak of the war in Europe. He is of the opinion that up to the time of the sinking of the *Lusitania* public opinion may be fairly said to have been neutral; furthermore that there probably were relatively more Tories in 1776 and more Copperheads in 1861 than there were pro-Germans in 1917. There is no notice anywhere of a steady, subtle pro-British tendency in the years before the war. Only once does he refer to the persecution of men who refused to accept on faith the impossible explanations of the causes of the war, and the wild stories about German plotters and atrocities, by the press, propagandists, and local organizations, particularly of women. Apparently, Dr. Slosson does not realize how much the hearts of many good American citizens ached at what they had to hear and bear from their neighbors. The wise knew how to keep their feelings to themselves as early as the autumn of 1914. If the epithet "Hun", applied to their kin or friends across the ocean, quickly evaporated after the war and left in Americans generally but a residual dislike of aliens (p. 284), these men had got wisdom refined by charity as their reward. In passing, the reviewer often wonders what those historians who threw commonsense together with the fundamental rules of their specialty out of court in the period, 1914-1919, now honestly think of themselves. Dr. Slosson apparently was not of this number. One notes the statement about Walter Hines Page, war Ambassador to England, "neutral in his public activities, ardently sympathetic with the Entente in his private advices to the President." Gerard and Morgenthau, of course, still live.

Prohibition is on the whole well treated, though one misses a statement of the opinions of the professions scientifically well acquainted with its workings and effects, the physicians and the lawyers. The South is solidly in favor of the reform out of dread of the effects drink has on the negroes and because of the great influence of the Protestant clergy. Prohibition, at least, is not characterized as a "noble experiment". The religious life of the nation receives notice only in the last few pages of the book and on these pages Catholicism gets little more than four lines:

> The renewed vitality of the Roman Catholic Church in America was strikingly shown in the enthusiasm aroused by the Eucharistic Congress of 1926 near Chicago, which attracted a million pilgrims from all over the world.

Why "renewed vitality"? Catholicism in the United States shows a slow but steady growth. References elsewhere are in passing. In the chapter entitled "Critical Essay on Authorities", the noteworthy books in the Protestant denominations but not on Catholicism are cited. Candidly, no fault may be found with the author for what was not an oversight. In the chapter on education there is nothing said about the growing conviction that religion may not with impunity be omitted from the character-forming curricula of the schools, nor to the double burden of taxation Catholics must bear because they are among those who possess this conviction, nor of the growing belief by many in close touch with "Education" of its monstrous pretensions.

Admirable and clever is the book. Thus in regard to the conservation of our timber "stands" (p. 218):

> A rebel doubt sometimes arose, not only with respect to waste but even what was called "use", whether the acres of fine trees cut down to make a single Sunday edition of a yellow journal, two thirds advertisement and the rest scandals and comic strips, did not represent almost as great a loss as a forest fire.

And in regard to reconstruction after the war (p. 72):

> "The war," said a soldier proverb, "will last a hundred years—five years of fighting and ninety-five of winding up the barbed wire."

One is happy at an *exposé* of Americanization as it reaches its victims from the hands of the more ignorant, but altogether too common "Americanizers". Dr. Slosson might have expanded on this subject (p. 205).

There are, however, loosely constructed sentences and paragraphs to cause mental "static", notably, on pages 209 and 219. Druggists do not usually fill "prescriptions" (p. 114); children are "reared" (p. 157). Readers unaccustomed to the printing of many words which are usually hyphenated, without the hyphen will often be annoyed. There are misprints: "gainst" for "against" (p. 67), "Alazama" for "Alabama" (p. 215 note 1), but "at that" (p. 50) is not in good odor.

Dr. Slosson's book is of very high merit. It brings together the ill-assembled threads of one's experience and often suggests reasons for the why of things one has puzzled about long.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

*Pennsylvania State College.*

*The Old Time College President.* By GEORGE P. SCHMIDT, Ph. D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. 251. $4.00.)

The American college has gone through a striking if somewhat natural process of evolution during the three centuries since Harvard was founded. The most radical changes, of course, have taken place in the recent years. These have been due principally to the introduction into American education of the German university methods which, engrafted on our existing institutions of higher learning, have led to such expansion and development as could not possibly have been foreseen by the individuals who were responsible for the establishment of our early American colleges. These changes have affected practically every phase of college organization and administration but it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the most far-reaching change has taken place in the conception of the office of president. There was a time when it might have been said with all truth that "the college was but the lengthened shadow of one man"; and that man was the president. When the presiding officer was at once President of the Board of Trustees, Dean of the Faculty, Business Manager, Professor of Philosophy (and often of other branches), Prefect of Discipline, Spiritual Leader, and Publicity Agent, the welfare of the college was far more dependent upon the personal qualifications of the man at the head than it is today when functions are distributed among a number of individuals many of whom are not known even by name to the constituency that supports it. The modern arrangement is assuredly more suited to modern needs, but the transition from the old order has not been accomplished without the loss of certain advantages. The modern college president may be more efficient as an administrator, but it is safe to say that he would willingly sacrifice some of his prestige to share a modicum of the personal influence that was the portion of his old time predecessors. Be that as it may, he cannot but profit by such a study of the Old Time President and his activities as is presented by Dr. Schmidt.

There are available many biographical sketches, more or less complete, of men who guided the destinies of American colleges including most of those whose names are mentioned in the present work, but no one has hitherto attempted to give us a composite picture of the college president as he was known to earlier generations of American citizens. This is the task Dr. Schmidt has set himself to perform and he has succeeded admirably. Limiting his investigation to the century between 1760 and 1860, he has ferreted out most if not all the sources that might yield information concerning the activities in which college presidents of those days engaged. With this raw material, as we may call it, he recreates for us a figure that looms large in the history of America and particularly of American higher education. We see him in turn as The College Executive, The Educator, The Philosopher (he always taught the course in Moral Philosophy), The Educational Pioneer, The Patriot, and The Religious Leader. In each of these fields he was a power and his influence was usually felt far beyond the confines of the academic halls over which he presided. His passing, for he is no more, deprived the American college of a type of educator it could ill afford to lose, for he was in a real sense a philosopher and not merely a business executive or a narrow educational specialist. College executives of today might well take a leaf from his diary and formulate for themselves a comprehensive view of the field in which they work, in other words, a philosophy of education. As a means to that end we recommend the reading of this volume.

Dr. Schmidt, as might be expected, does not include in his study any of our Catholic educators. The reviewer does not consider this unfortunate as he hopes that some student of ours will in the near future follow this author's lead and prepare a similar study of Catholic college presidents. Let it be said in passing that they will not all be Jesuits as the author seems to imply, (p. 33). Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md., for example, the foundation of which in 1808 Dr. Schmidt neglects to mention, has never been under the jurisdiction of the Society.

T. G. Foran.

*Catholic University of America.*

*L'Orateur Chrétien: Traité de Prédication.* A.-D. Sertillanges, O.P. (Juvisy, Seine-et-Oise: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1931. Pp. xiii, 439.)

To the long list of his other publications, the noted preacher, Père Sertillanges, O.P., has added an extensive treatise on preaching which follows generally the traditional methods of Catholic writers on homiletics but gives to what is ordinarily a dry presentation of counsels a peculiarly Gallic combination of solid instruction and graceful lightness of touch. I know of no Catholic work on homiletics in English that approaches the present one in amplitude of treatments and subjects, unless we should combine into one volume the three works of Father Potter.

The author disposes his matter into scientifically arranged chapters with carefully distinguished sections and subsections, and the volume would accordingly meet the usual requirements of a text-book. Nevertheless, the treatments are interesting and inspiring and therefore suited as well for longtime practitioners of the art of preaching as for students in ecclesiastical seminaries. Two somewhat unusual discussions, so far as English works on homiletics are concerned, deal with the question of a desirable rhythm in style and with the pronunciation of certain words (both French and foreign) and the distinctions of enunciation or articulation. Father Donnelly devotes much of his space to the first question in his work on Newman's sermon on The Second Spring. The English translation (*Directorium Sacerdotale*) of Fr. Valuy's volume (*Le Directoire du Prêtre*), and Hitchcock's small volume on Sermon Delivery find it desirable for priests in England to have lists of strangely pronounced proper names; but the question of stylistic rhythm is not, I think, touched in any of our Catholic works in English on the subject of preaching—nor does the reviewer lament this lack, since he prefers the "conversational" style of preaching.

Hugh T. Henry.

*Catholic University of America.*

# NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association announces that the programme for the twelfth annual meeting, to be held at the Hotel Nicollet, Minneapolis, Minn., December 28-31, 1931, in conjunction with several other national historical groups, has been completed. The central theme of the papers is to be *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe* (*1919-1930*), and the following scholars have accepted the invitation of the Committee on Programme, of which Bishop Shahan is chairman, to read papers during the sessions:

I. *Ireland*: James F. Kenney, Ph.D., Director of Historical Research and Publicity, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada, First Vice-President of the Association, author of *Sources for the Early History of Ireland,* etc.

II. *England:* Daniel Sargent, Instructor in History and Literature, Harvard University, who has spent the past three years in England studying social and political conditions.

III. *France*: Very Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., D.D., President of Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri, Advisory Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review.*

IV. *Belgium-Holland*: Rt. Rev. Msgr. Victor Day, D.D., Vicar-General of the Diocese of Helena, Montana, well-known translator of Kurth, Bossuet, etc.

V. *Germany-Austria*: Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., Professor of History, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

VI. *Italy*: Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Editor of *America,* New York City.

VII. *Spain-Portugal*: Miss Marie Madden, Ph.D., Professor of Spanish History, Fordham University, Spanish-American History and Sociology, Maxwell Training School for Teachers, New York City.

VIII. *Poland*: Leonid Strakhovsky, Ph.D. (Louvain), Professor of History, Georgetown University.

IX. *Russia*: Rev. Edmund Walsh, S.J., Vice-President, Georgetown University.

After the appearance of these papers in the REVIEW during the coming year (1932), they will be published in book form as a companion volume to *Church Historians,* which contains the papers of the Ann Arbor Meeting of 1925.

Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick's Presidential Address on George Washington and Religion, delivered before the Association at Indianapolis, December, 1928, and printed in this REVIEW, April, 1929, appears as part I of *Washington as a Religious Man,* Pamphlet No. 5 of the series, *Honor to George Washington,* edited by Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, and published under the direction of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission. Copies of the 16 pamphlets of the series will be furnished upon request to the commission, Washington Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Among the fellowships this year awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies is one to James S. Beddie, State Teachers' College, Minot, N. Dak., who will study, chiefly in Munich, the catalogues of medieval libraries. Grants were also made to Ernest Lauer, Northwestern University, for aid in the study of the social economy of the medieval Rhenish cities; and to Eva M. Sanford, Western Reserve University, for study of the influence of Lucan's *Pharsalia* in the Middle Ages.

The *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences,* No. 12 (Vol. III, Part II) gives accounts of the meetings of the committee and sub-committees held in 1930 at Rome, Cambridge, London, and Oxford. The pages devoted to the meeting held to discuss the possibility of coördinated international research in the Vatican Archives contain a memorandum, by Msgr. E. Tisserant, on the preparation of a general index of the manuscripts in the Vatican Library.

A recent publication by the Garvey Literary Society at Saint Francis College, Loretto, Penna., *Catholic Authors in Modern Literature (1880-1930)*, is a valuable addition to our Catholic reference shelf.

*Polytheism and Fetishism,* by the Rev. M. Briault, C.S.Sp., is an essay on comparative religion by one who spent long years of study and work as a missionary among African tribes. The English translation, by the Rev. Dr. Patrick Browne (Maynooth), is published by Sands.

Undoubtedly the first map of the world which appeared in print dates from about the year 1460. It is a xylographic production executed by the wood-cutter Hans Ruest. The title is engraved upon a label on top and reads: *Das ist die mapa mundi und in der gantze welt.* Below in the middle the name of the wood-cutter is inscribed upon a label. The form of the map is round and the dimensions are 15 by 11 inches. The only extant copy of this map was discovered in recent years and reproduced in facsimile at Munich in 1924.

Thomas Accurti is compiling a detailed catalogue of the incunabula preserved at the Vatican Library. He has discovered thus far a great number of books printed before 1501 which are not found in any other library throughout the world. Some of these new finds are described in his book, *Editiones saeculi XV. pleraeque bibliographis ignotae* (Florence, 1930, pp. 170). The first part of this work describes 181 incunabula which remained unknown to the bibliographers; some of these had escaped even the ken of the compilers of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.* The second part gives additions and corrections to 249 incunabula described in this latest standard work, the *Gesamtkatalog.* As we can estimate, the sum total of new and unique finds will be three times as high, when the final catalogue of incunabula will appear. Again the Vatican Library demonstrates to the world that it contains unique treasures.

No. 71 of *Orientalia Christiana,* vol. XXIII, 1, is entitled, *Deux discours inédits de Nicétas de Paphlagonie, disciple de Photius: Panégyrique de St. Pierre; Panégyrique de St. Paul,* from MS. 755 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The Greek texts are given with their French translations.

The 550th *Catalogue* of Maggs Bros., London, is "a selection of books, manuscripts, and autograph letters, remarkable for their interest and rarity." In addition to beautifully printed and illustrated items relating to rare books, such as a Choir Book of the Benedictine Order (14th century), a copy of Dürer's Woodcut Life of the Virgin (1511), two privately printed publications to induce Carmelite missionaries to volunteer for service in New Mexico, by Fr. Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza and Jeronímo Gracián, and Querbeuf's edition of missionary letters written by Jesuit missionaries, 1780-1783, there are listed and translated autograph letters of St. Francis Borgia to Catherine of Portugal (1557) and of St. Francis Xavier to John III of Portugal, an episcopal charter of Rodrigo de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, 1237, and many early Latin manuscripts.

*The Papacy,* by the Rev. F. Mourret, translated by the Rev. Robert Eaton, is a popular but ready answer to the attacks upon the papacy that Catholics are likely to meet (London, Sands).

The attention of our readers is called to Father Mannhardt's criticism of Clement Wood's recent atrocious book—*The Woman Who was Pope: a Biography of Pope Joan, 853-855,* in the St. Louis *Fortnightly Review* for August and September of this year. Fortunately, the name of no responsible publisher is attached to Wood's ridiculous study.

*Essays in Order* is the obscure title of a new series of booklets issued by Messrs. Sheed and Ward, whose purpose is "to examine the possibilities of coöperation and of conflict that exist between the Catholic order and the new world." The first three to appear are: *Religion and Culture,* by Jacques Maritain; *Crisis in the West,* by Peter Wust; and *Christianity and the New Age,* by Christopher Dawson.

*Augustinian Miscellanea,* edited by the Rev. E. A. Foran, O.S.A., is published by Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

The leading article in the July number of *Speculum* is Professor Dana C. Munro's presidential address read at the sixth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, on the Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades.

The leading contributions to the July issue of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* are: "A propos du Bx. Jean Duns Scot de Littledean: notes et recherches historiques de 1265 à 1292", by André Callebaut, O.F.M.; and "Giovanni e Gualtieri di Brienne in S. Francesco di Assisi", by Giuseppe Gerola.

*Illustrious Friends of the Sacred Heart,* translated from the German of Karl Richstaetter, S.J., is a history of devotion to the Sacred Heart before the seventeenth century (Sands).

The Hefele and Hergenröther *Conciliengeschichte,* it will be remembered, stopped short (with volume IX, published in 1890) at the year 1536. The French translation in 8 volumes, published by Dom Leclercq, 1907-17, has now received a continuation volume under the same title (*Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux . . .*), by Dr. P. Richard, Tome IX, partie I^e^, II^e^, 1058 pp., Paris, 1930-31. This deals with the Council of Trent, fully utilizing the great progress that has been made in recent years with the publication of sources and of monographs bearing on that subject. It is intended ultimately to carry the work through to the Vatican Council.

The *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos,* the pseudonymous masterpiece of the Huguenot "monarchomachs" of the sixteenth century, was ascribed by the older tradition to Hubert Languet, but since 1905 has been more commonly accredited to Philippe du Plessis-Mornay. Two new discussions of the problem have recently appeared. Professor Ernest Barker, in the *Cambridge Historical Journal* (III, pp. 164-81, 1930), concludes that the book was probably written by Languet. G. T. van Ysselstyn, in the *Revue Historique* (CLXVII, pp. 46-59, *mai-juin,* 1931), advances the new thesis that Languet and du Plessis-Mornay collaborated upon it.

The autumn announcements of new Macmillan books contain *Churches of France,* text by Dorothy Arms, with 51 reproductions of etchings and drawings by John Taylor Arms; a *Dictionary of Dates,* by Helen Rex Keller, a comprehensive handbook of dates and world events from the earliest times to the present; *Since Calvary: an Interpretation of Christian History,* by Lewis Browne; *History of the Christian People,* by Henry K. Rowe, with emphasis on post-Reformation history and containing some account of the complicated scene of religion in the United States;

and *Essays of a Catholic,* by Hilaire Belloc, including papers on the Political Position of the Catholic Church, the Church in England, Science the Enemy of Truth, the Recovery of True History, and the Church and the General Mood.

Burns, Oates and Washbourne have published the *Story of Teresa Neumann,* a popular account of the famous stigmatic of Konnersreuth, by Father Pacificus, O.M.Cap.; *Matthew Parker's Witness against Continuity,* by the Rev. H. E. G. Rope; and a new edition of the *Early Papacy to the Synod of Chalcedon in 451,* by Adrian Fortescue.

Benedict Williamson's *Story of Pius XI,* describing the powers, personality, and achievements of the present pontiff, has been published by Alexander-Ouseley (London).

Recent pamphlet publications of the Catholic Truth Society include: *Crusading Europe,* by Mother Keppell; and *Cambridge University and Its Martyrs,* by Noel Macdonald.

The Abbé Alphonse Lugan, noted French writer, died recently at Albi, at the age of 62. Besides founding a newspaper, *The Movement,* aimed against those who seemed to him to be compromising Catholicism, Abbé Lugan was the author of nearly thirty volumes, among which was a biography of Cardinal Gibbons, the *Catholicism of Action,* the *Thought and Work of a Great Russian Lord, Action Française and the Christian Idea,* the *Moral Significance of Action Française,* the *Social Teachings of Jesus* (7 vols.), *International Problems and the Peace Conference,* etc. His last work was *Le Catholicisme aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1931), in which he gives high praise to the N. C. W. C. as an official bureau for Catholic Action in the United States.

In reply to Henri Bremond's *Thundering Abbot* and in vindication of the originator of Trappist reform, Dom Ailbe J. Lurry, O.Cist., has written the *Real De Rancé* (Longmans).

In 1893 M. Gabriel Hanotaux published two volumes of a *Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu,* planned on a large scale, which was expected to become, when completed, the standard life of the great Cardinal. Interrupted for many years for reasons independent of the will of the author, this important work is now being continued by M. Hanotaux, with the collaboration of the Duc de la Force, appearing at present in the form of a series of articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* beginning July 1, 1931.

Our understanding of the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century and of the reasons for the victories of the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation can in few ways be more enhanced than by careful studies of particular localities. An excellent example of such a study is the recent book of Mgr. J. M. Vidal, *Schisme et hérésie au diocèse de Pamiers, 1467-1626* (Rome and Paris, 1931, 346 pp.).

E. Flammarion has recently added two more studies to the collection *Notre Clergé. La Vocation d'Olivier Georges Destrée* by H. Carton de Wiart was the first of these. It was closely followed by a biography of *L'Abbé de Tourville,* the work of R. P. Marie André Dieux. *Les Réponses catholiques,* a controversarial collection published by the same house, has for its latest addition *Qui a brûlé Jeanne d'Arc?,* by the Jesuit, R. P. Doncoeur. *Sainte Odile* is the title of Léontine Zanta's recent work, published by Flammarion as part of the collection *Les Pèlerinages.*

*Un animateur de la jeunesse au 13e siècle: Vie et voyages du bienheureux Jourdain de Saxe* is the title of a recent publication of Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. Marguerite Aron is the author of this latest life of the noted Dominican, who was General of his Order from 1222 to 1237. Crowned by the French Academy, and recipient of the *Prix Bordin* for 1931, Madamoiselle Aron's work forms Volume I of the collection *Temps et Visages* under the direction of André George.

Georges Goyau, illustrious member of the French Academy, and author of *Les origines religieuses du Canada,* has contributed another valuable study to the history of missionary activity. His latest publication is *Missions et missionnaires,* an investigation of the principles, methods and results of missionary work during 19 centuries. As part of the *Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses,* it is offered to the public by Bloud et Gay of Paris. These same publishers also offer *Notre Dame de la Salette* by Jean Denis Bonnet, and *Le Père Charles de Foucauld* by Mgr. A. Boucher, the latter a volume of the *Bibliothèque Catholique illustrée.*

An extremely handy collection of documents entitled *La Hiérarchie catholique et le problème social* is a recent publication of the *Editions Spes* of Paris. It deals with the subject between the years 1891 (date of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*) and 1931. It offers a complete collection of the documents of the last four popes on social order, as well as the statements of the hierarchies of sixteen countries over the same period of time. In addition, it includes helpful geographical, analytical, and reference tables.

A goodly number of French works have recently appeared which deal with the histories of famous church buildings. Among them is Juliette Jacquemin's profound study of the churches of Brou and Ambronay entitled, *L'Eglise abbatiale d'Ambronay-en-Bugey; l'Eglise de Brou à Bourg en Bresse.* The *Librairie de France* issues this work, while Firmin-Didot et Cie. are the publishers of *L'Abbaye des Rabières* by Marcel Darnault.

*L'Eglise et le château de Carsac (Dordogne)*, by M. A. Fayolles is the contribution of Victorian Frères to this class of publication. A de luxe edition of the *Histoire de l'Eglise et de la Paroisse de St-Leu-St-Gilles à Paris* by Dr. M. Vimont is offered on subscription only by A. Margraff et Ch. Florange, Paris.

The subject of Henry Yvignac's book is *L'Eminence grise* (*Le Père Joseph*), the latest publication of the *Librairie du Dauphin* in its collection *Grands Hommes d'Etat catholique.*

De Gigord is the publisher of *Louise de la Vallière. De la Cour au Carmel,* by Eriau.

The lives of two more churchmen are the subjects of recent publications by J. Peyronnet et Cie. and the Editions Rieder. *Un curieux, l'evêque de Callinique,* by J. Tremblot, is the contribution of the former, while Marguerite Jouve's study of the *Vie hérétique de Bernard Delicieux* has been added by the latter to their collection *Christianisme.*

The month of July last witnessed the publication of three collective works which should be of great interest to the student of church history. The first of these was *Les Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231. Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale,* by M. M. Davy, published as Volume XV of the *Etudes de Philosophie médiévale* by Vrin of Paris. *Jean XXII. Lettres communes,* by G. Mollat, is the latest addition to the third series of the *Lettres communes des papes d'Avignon* now in process of publication by the French Schools of Rome and Athens. P. Fournier and G. LeBras are the authors of *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les fausses décrétales jusqu'au décret de Gratien.* The Librairie du Recueil Sirey has just published the first volume of this *Histoire* (*De la réforme carolingienne à la réforme grégorienne*). It is destined to be number four of the publications of the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit,* published under the auspices of the Society of the History of Law.

W. Schmidt's work, *Origine et évolution de la religion,* has been translated from the German and added by Bernard Grasset to his collection *La Vie Chrétienne.*

A. d'Alès, professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris, has recently published (Beauchesne) *Le Dogme d'Ephèse* on the occasion of the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Ephesus.

Volume five of the series *Avenir du christianisme* by Albert Dufourcq has just appeared from the press of the Librairie Plon. It is entitled *Christianisme et les barbares* (*395-1049*). It has been awarded the *Prix Perret* by the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.

*Les Pères de l'Eglise et la Musique* by Théodore Gerold is a recent publication of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Strasbourg.

Charles Maurras of the *Action française* is the author of a recently published de luxe edition of *Méditations sur la Politique de Jeanne d'Arc* (Editions du Cadran).

*Réponse d'un défenseur de Jeanne des Armoises, M. Ledru, chanoine du Mans,* by J. De Le Martinière, is offered by R. Houzé.

What is claimed to be a purely objective study, impartial and impersonal, of men, events and ideas of the modernistic movement in France, written by a former Catholic, is Alfred Loisy's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire religieuse de notre temps,* published in three volumes by E. Nourry, Paris. Chronologically, the volumes are divided as follows: I. (1857-1900); II. (1900-1903); III. (1908-1927).

The publication of a facsimile of the *Libretto de tutta la Navigatione de Re de Spagna,* Venice, 1504, issued in Paris by the firm of Honoré Champion in 1931, makes a rare work accessible to the American student. The original book is known to exist in only two copies, of which one, the copy preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice, lacks its first leaf, containing the title of the book, and the other, the copy treasured in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I., is complete. A facsimile of the book made from the incomplete Marciana copy with a full introduction was published by John Boyd Thacher in his *Christopher Columbus* (II, 438-514). The facsimile just issued by Champion was made from the complete copy of the book in the John Carter Brown Library. This distinguished early American work is described by the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, L. C. Wroth, as "the first collection of voyages ever printed, the first published relation of the third voyage and of a part of the second voyage of Columbus, and the first edition of the first book by the earliest historian of America: *First Decade* of Peter Martyr, which in its original Latin form did not appear in print until 1511". The descriptive introduction by Mr. Wroth which accompanies the facsimile occupies thirty-one quarto pages. The price of a copy of the new facsimile is three dollars and fifty cents.

Vol. II of *Studies of the Spanish Mystics,* by E. Allison Peers (London, S. P. C. K.), includes chapters on Oronzo, St. Peter of Alcántara, Laredo, St. Thomas of Villanueva, Malón de Chaide, Diego de Estella, Cristóbal de Fonseca, Juan de Ávila, Fray Tomas de Jesús, García Cisneros, St. Teresa, Jerónimo Gracián, and Luis de la Puente.

One of the most just estimates of the late Adolf von Harnack from a Catholic pen will be found in the July, 1931, issue of the *Australasian*

*Catholic Record* (Sydney, N. S. W.). After distinguishing Harnack's real contribution to ecclesiastical history, and not, as is commonly said, to biblical studies, Dr. Leonard writes: "Another widely diffused notion with regard to the late German Professor is that in many things he was sympathetically Catholic. The notion is founded, no doubt, on the part he took as a qualified religious pacificist in the policies of Wilhelm II, on some sensational Roman sympathy manifested in a conference given to the students of the evangelical union of Berlin in 1891 (*Was wir von der Römischen Kirche lernen und nicht lernen sollen*), on another discourse entitled *Protestantismus und Katholizismus in Deutschland* of January 27, 1907, and above all, perhaps, on a sense of gratitude for the efficacious impetus he gave to the swing back to traditional chronology in the dating of the Gospels. But, however Catholic a few of his pronouncements on matters of chronology or historical detail may sound, Harnack was dominantly an *inimicus homo*. He was the leader of a school of Liberal Criticism that was in fundamental opposition to Catholicism and to all dogmatic Christianity. His strictures on the Catholic system were often heavily dosed with contemptuous pity or fine sarcasm and in the polemic which he carried on against the learned and vigorous Tyrolese Dominican, Heinrich Denifle, Harnack, though most unlutheran of German thinkers, showed how the old leaven of Lutheran anti-papalism still ferments the mass of German heterodoxy, be it conservative or radical. After the publication of *The Essence of Christianity* in 1900, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, W. Sanday, remarked that there were three things which Harnack seldom mentioned without a depreciative epithet, namely, Church, Doctrine, Worship."

A large number of contemporary pamphlets dealing with the "Knights' War" against the South German clergy in 1523 are listed and analyzed or printed for the first time, with commentaries, by Karl Schottenloher, *Flugschriften zur Ritterschaftsbewegund des Jahres 1523. Reformationsgeschichte, Studien und Texte* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1929, xii, 131 pp.). The editor, a master in this field, has been charged by the *Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation* with working up the entire bibliography of the Reformation period. In his introduction he characterizes the attack of the knights upon the Church and hierarchy rather sternly, declaring that it was based only on class egotism, though trying to mask its selfishness by denouncing the clergy as limbs of Satan and decking itself with the nimbus of "the Gospel".

An article by Jean Lulvès, "Papst Leo XIII erste Begegnung mit Wilhelm II (Oktober 1888) und Frankreichs vatikanische Politik" *Preussische Jahrbücher, Bd.* 225, *Hft.* 1 (Juli 1931) is interesting as showing the ideas which Leo XIII continued to pursue as late as 1888 for recovering the temporal sovereignty of Rome and Latium. It also explains, from unprinted German diplomatic documents, the famous episode of the sudden termination of the interview between the Pope and the Kaiser through the brusque intrusion of Prince Henry of Prussia (not an impulsive blunder, but a plan carefully arranged in advance by the Germans in order to prevent the inexperienced young Emperor from being drawn into a long and perhaps dangerous or painful conversation on the Roman Question).

Vol. LXVII of the publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society is an account of the *North Italian Services of the Eleventh Century,* edited by Dom C. Lambot, O.S.B.

The early history of the Jugoslav peoples is briefly sketched and their movement for national unity culminating in the establishment of their present kingdom is fully described by one of the foremost scholars in the field of Slavic history, M. Émile Haumant, *La Formation de la Yougoslavie, Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves,* V (Paris, édition Bossard, 1930, 752 pp.). This is by far the best résumé of Jugo-slav history that has yet appeared in any Western language.

In the passing (July 24, 1931) of Mother Mary Salome (Oates) in her seventy-first year of age and forty-eighth of religious profession, the English-speaking Catholic world has lost one of its foremost historical writers. Her *Life of Mary Ward,* for whose beatification she labored so enthusiastically the past score of years, has never lost its vivid charm for those who are interested in the period of the Counter-Reform. One of our editors, Dr. Guilday, has been an official witness for the Cause of Mary Ward, the promotion of which Mother Salome graciously attributed to the considerable new light Dr. Guilday brought to the subject in his *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* (1914).

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for June prints a summary of Miss Marjorie B. Honeybourne's master's thesis on the extent and value of the property in London and Southwark occupied by the religious houses, the inns of the bishops and abbots, and the churches and churchyards, before the dissolution of the monasteries.

The *Clergy Review* continues to display a scholarly interest in Church history. The July issue prints an article, by R. L. Smith, on the Treason of the English Martyrs; and one on the Nestorians and Chaldeans in Modern Times, by G. J. MacGillivray. In the August number Alphonsus Bonnar writes on the English Franciscans and Jansenism; Christopher Dawson discusses Scholasticism and the Origins of the European Scientific Tradition; and A. H. Ryan describes Ephesus, 431-1931.

The June issue of *Studies* is almost entirely devoted to articles of historic value. Dom Louis Gougaud, O.S.B., contributes a review article on the Achievement and the Influence of Irish Monks; Christopher Dawson discusses the Classical Tradition and the Origins of Medieval Culture; Dr. James J. Walsh writes on American Universities and Some Others; Padraig E. MacPhinn makes a plea for Local History; Denis S. Merney, S.J., gives an account of the Gregorian University, Past and Present; Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., contributes the second part of his study of Cromwell's Policy of Transportation; and T. Corcoran, S.J., discusses T. M. Healy and Irish Education.

Discussing in the summer issue of the *Yale Review* the question, Free Citizens in a Free State, Charles P. Howland and Richard W. Hale state that in England during the World War, out of 5000 cases of "conscientious objectors" less than one hundred were reported for "insincerity." The genuine cases were not confined to Quakers (fourteen per cent.), but were distributed through all denominations, the lowest number of which were among the Catholics (three per cent.).

*Monastic Life at Cluny,* by Joan Evans, is a recent title of the Oxford University Press.

*Damien the Leper Saint,* by Irene Caudwell, is a sympathetic life by a non-Catholic (London, Allan).

The *Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity in Scotland,* for 1931 (Sands and Co.), has five parts: the Ecclesiastical Calendar, the Hierarchy and the Clergy, the Dioceses of Scotland, Religious Establishments (statistics and funds), and General Information.

*Irish Monasticism,* by the Rev. John Ryan, S.J., is a study of origins and early development (Longmans, pp. 413).

Two articles in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September should be noted: one deals with Fenianism and the Rise of National Feeling in Canada at the Time of Confederation, by C. F. Stacey; the other treats of the Canadian Policy toward the Acadians in 1751, by J. Bartlet Brebner, showing from the ordinance appended a harsher policy than that of Nova Scotia. This number also prints a list of graduate theses in Canadian history and economics.

Under the title, "Une autobiographie de l'Abbé le Loutre", *Nova Francia* for January-February prints a memoir written by Le Loutre which is now in the archives of the Missions Etrangères and edited by A. David. This issue and the one for November-December contain further instalments of *Lettres de Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, superieure des Hospitalières l'Hôtel-Dieu de Quebec.*

Henri Vallée has written the life of *M. l'Abbé F. X. Noiseux, V. G., curé des Trois-Rivières, 1796-1812,* which appears as No. 2 of *Les Cahiers de la Société d'Histoire Regionale* (Trois-Rivières, P. H. Marineau, pp. 54).

The late Edward Seler, the foremost scholar of Aztec language and antiquities, left in manuscript a German translation of selected chapters of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun's historical work in Aztec. This manuscript was edited by Mrs. Caecilia Seler-Sachs in collaboration with Walter Lehmann and Walter Krickeberg and published at Stuttgart in 1927 (*Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun*). The Aztec text is printed in Latin characters. The work is adorned with many illustrations in the text and with plates.

In 1914, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., acquired 52 volumes, containing about 30,000 folio pages, relating chiefly to Bolivia and Peru, dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and touching on matters of Church and State, Catholic missions, Indians, etc. Dr. Jac Nachbin, of Pernambuco, Brazil, has recently been engaged upon the making of a calendar of this important collection.

Organized for the purpose of improving the standards of taste, craftsmanship, and liturgical correctness current in the practice of Catholic art in the United States, the Liturgical Arts Society should draw to its membership all those competent and interested in the arts of the Church. Its program includes an information service, the publication of a quarterly journal in which the history of Catholic art will be set forth, lectures in seminaries, and exhibitions. Charles D. Maginnis is president of the society, and Maurice Lavanoux, secretary.

Volume II, No. 2, of St. Meinrad's *Historical Essays* contains articles on Pope Pius X, Pastoral Pope, by Edwin Sahm; the Coronado Expedition, by Robert Hartman; Greenland of the Middle Ages, by Maurice Schoentrup; and an account of early Spanish exploration, under the title, "Spain Comes into Her Own", by Francis Gronotte.

The principal article in *Mid-America* for July is a study of the Mexico City Guilds of New Spain, by Marie R. Madden. Other contents include a sketch of Pierre Menard of Illinois, by William S. Merrill; an account of the Marquis's Hospital which was established by Cortes in 1529, by Elizabeth W. Loughran; a description of the Customs and Legends of Texas Indians, by Carlos E. Castañeda; and an answer to the query, "A Miracle in Mid-America"? by M. M. Hoffman, respecting Francis X. Weninger, S.J., the Apostle of Iowa.

The centennial edition of the *Catholic Telegraph,* of Cincinnati, is a worthy souvenir of this important milestone in the history of the Catholic press. Photographs and historical sketches abound.

The *Salesianum* for July contains two articles commemorative of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Francis Seminary, 1836-1931; six letters to Bishop Henni, contributed by Rev. Dr. Peter L. Johnson; and a continuation of Rev. Dr. Adolph D. Frenay's study of Monotheism in West Africa.

*Catholic Culture in Alabama: Centenary History of Spring Hill College, 1830-1930,* by Michael Kenny, S.J. (America Press, pp. 400), is not only an important contribution to the history of Catholic education but recounts also the story of the Jesuit missionaries in the South and Middle West.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for July prints a Diary of Inspection of the Texas Missions, made by Fray Gaspar Jose de Solis in 1767-1768, translated by Margaret K. Kress, with an introductory note by Mattie A. Hatcher.

The main purpose of the *Huntington Library Bulletin,* the first number of which was issued in May, "is to particularize the resources" of the Library. The material to be presented will include bibliographical and other information concerning the Library's rich collections, texts of unpublished manuscripts, research articles, and general items. The initial number contains an account of the Library's important collections, in which there are statements concerning 33 letters of Father Kino to the Duchess d'Aviero d'Arcos y Maqueda, incunabula purchased from Dr. Vollbehr, whose later collection has recently been acquired by the Library of Congress, and from Mr. Abraham Rosenbach. A study of New England, 1830-1850, by Frederick J. Turner, has much to say of the Irish and Catholicism in that section.

In the March issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* appear some Revolutionary Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton with William Carmichael, contributed by Elizabeth S. Kite; a well documented survey of White Servitude in the American Colonies, by Sister Margaret Patricia, S. N. D.; and a continuation of the history of the Redemptorists in America, by John F. Byrne, C.SS.R.

The life of *Sister Louise, American Foundress of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur,* first presented to the Catholic University as a doctoral dissertation, has been published in good form by Benziger Brothers.

In commemoration of the golden jubilee of St. John's Catholic Church of Antigo, Wisconsin, the Rev. C. L. Leiterman has issued a well printed and amply illustrated history of that parish (140 pp.).

Pamphlet No. 7 of the Catholic Association for International Peace is *Porto Rico and the United States,* by Dr. Elizabeth M. Lynskey and the Committee on U. S. Dependencies (pp. 47, ten cents).

# BRIEF NOTICES

**Babcock, F. J., D. D.**, *The History of Creeds.* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. xiv, 249, $4.00.)

This work will serve a wider purpose than that modestly expressed by the author, who dedicated it to students preparing for examinations. It is a brief introduction to the history of the early creeds. It is not an exhaustive work, but it does succeed in pointing the main problems that confront the students of the subject. It gives in brief compass a statement of the results of previous investigations, and suggests, perhaps a little too often, probable solutions of existing problems. In addition to discussing the forms and dates of the early creeds the author has done a useful work in bringing together the texts of many creeds not usually to be found in other collections. The method followed is that which has become traditional among investigators of the history of creeds, *viz.*, to search for formularies corresponding to those found in the recognized creeds in the works of authors antecedent to the earliest known date at which these creeds received official sanction or at which they are found in their entirety. The search has revealed many similarities and analogies, but the goal is not yet in sight. The author accepts without question the Ambrosian authorship of the *Quicumque Vult.* He has, also, succeeded in bringing together much new material on the Creed of Rome. Too much stress appears to be laid on the significance of the *Disciplina Arcani* as a reason why the texts of the creed were not committed to writing at the time about which our knowledge of the creeds and the *Disciplina* is most meagre. The statement that "the many Easternisms of the Irish Church came to it by way of Gaul" rests on nothing more than an unproved assumption. The usefulness of the book is largely in its brevity and in the manner in which it opens up the field to students desirous of becoming specialists. (Patrick J. Healy.)

**Bémont, Charles**, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.* Translated by E. F. Jacob. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1930, p. 303.)

First published in French in 1884, the original edition has long been considered the standard biography of this medieval hero. Since its publication, however, much has been done in the line of research by such men as Tout, Pollard, Jacob, and others which has called for a revision in many of the original opinions of M. Bémont. While he has made considerable use of these researches, it must be regretfully admitted that he has not always been accurate in so doing. In fact, the volume is marred by many inaccuracies, *e. g.*, concerning the See of Lincoln (p. 16), the number of fortified castles (p. 32), where the facts are really the very reverse of the statement. Further, M. Bémont is distinctly weak in genealogy (*cf.* pp. 36 and 39; 79 and 80, and the really remarkable account of the descent of the honor of Huntingdon on page 125).

M. Bémont is of special competence in the field of Gascon history; his treatment of Gascon matters in this volume is of real interest, though he has omitted the *pièces justificatives* which were contained in the previous volume. The weakest part of the volume is that concerned with institutional matters in regard to which the author does not seem to have fully assimilated recent researches.

The volume has been well translated by E. F. Jacob, himself no mean authority on the period under review. Though the defects above listed, and others, seriously detract from the weight of the volume, it still remains of great value in estimating the career of one of the most important of medieval heroes and contributors to political developments.

**Bender, Harold S.**, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature.* (The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, 1929.)

This bibliography of Mennonitica Americana is a unique, invaluable, and permanent contribution to the field of Mennonite history and literature. It contains, with minor exceptions since 1880, every known piece of printed matter produced by Mennonites in North America from 1772 to 1928. Much of the material listed has hitherto been unavailable or unknown to scholars. The arrangement is chronological, alphabetical, and according to the distinct groups in which the Mennonites find themselves. (H. F. Alderfer.)

**Bett, Henry**, *Joachim of Flora: Great Medieval Churchmen.* (London, Methuen and Company, 1931, p. viii, 184, 6/.)

Mr. Bett has provided an illuminating volume on the Italian mystic and the history of his teachings as they affected the controversies within the University of Paris and the Franciscan Order. Especially commendable is his attention to the contemporary background and the disputes brought about between the covers of books. Both the man and his ideas thus win from the reader more lively and proper understanding and appreciation.

**Bibl, Victor**, *Maximilian II. Der rätselhafte Kaiser. Ein Zeitbild.* (Hollerau bei Dresden, Avalum-Verlag. 1930, pp. 426.)

Unique figure as he was among the Hapsburgs and enigmatic to a degree, the life and reign of the Emperor Maximilian II have never hitherto been made the subject of a comprehensive and thoroughly scholarly monograph based on original sources. That need is met by the book here under review, which represents the results of thirty years of investigation and long studies in the archives of Vienna, Dresden, Munich, Simancas, and elsewhere.

The outstanding mystery about this Emperor, of course, is the question of his religion: was he at heart a Catholic or a Protestant? Bibl's conclusion is that Maximilian, strongly drawn for a time towards Lutheranism, after a violent conflict with his father and after the Protestant princes had refused him help, externally conformed again to the Catholic Church, but internally attempted for the rest of his life to find and hold a middle position, defining himself as "Nec papista, nec evangelicus, sed christianus."

The author is highly sympathetic towards a prince whom he regards as enlightened, peaceful, tolerant, and far in advance of his time. (R. H. Lord.)

**Buchholz, Frederich**, *Protestantismus und Kunst im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert: Studien über Christliche Denkmäler* herausgegeben von Johannes Hicker, N. F. Heft 17 (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928, p. viii, 88, 4.50 Mk.)

Of the many views expressed about the relation of the German Reformation and art, none, with the exception of Dehio's, has ever appreciated the depths of the problem. Dr. Buchholz in this attempt to orient himself in the question goes back to study Luther's attitude toward art and the effects of his teachings on art and the results of the passing of art out of the tutelage of the omnipresent medieval Church. With these fundamentals in mind he views the evolution of early Protestant Church architecture, painting, illustrative work (hence, Dürer and Cranach), sculpture and iconography, and finds that, in spite of the arid controversies of the period, art found a new direction in the reformer's teachings that did not lack spiritual depth.

**Bülow, Prince [Bernhard] von**, *Memoirs of.* Translated from the German by F. A. Voigt. I: *From Secretary of State to Imperial Chancellor*, 1897-1903. (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1931, pp. xxv, 751.)

Easily the most talked-of work that has recently appeared dealing with the pre-War period is these Memoirs, three volumes of which have already been published in Germany. Reviewers abroad have reached very conflicting conclusions as to their merits. Some critics have pronounced these Memoirs "a document of the first order", "a historical mine of great wealth", "an accomplished work of art", "one of the greatest of German memoirs". Others have denounced them as little more than a collection of diplomatic gossip and scandal-mongering; shot through with malice, pride, and disappointed ambition; as distorted in views as unreliable on facts; a final proof that the one-time Chancellor was neither a statesman nor even a gentleman. Doubtless, Bülow can be convicted of not a few errors of fact. Doubtless, his Memoirs, like most others, are highly subjective and biased, and can be used only with caution as historical evidence. Doubtless, they contain few "revelations", few facts of great importance that are absolutely new. But they are captivating reading. They present the most complete, colorful, and intimate picture that has yet been offered to us, of the dominant circles in Germany before the War. They furnish an explanation of German policy, from one who was in a position to know its inmost secrets, which no historian can henceforth afford to ignore. They present, with great wealth of detail and anecdote, an interpretation of the character of William II which is at bottom very much the one which the world at large has come to accept, but which will be much strengthened by testimony from so authoritative a source. With all its defects, this is a book which no reader who has taken it up will leave unfinished. (R. H. Lord.)

**Cabrol, Abbot**, *The Mass: its doctrine, its history. The Story of the Mass in Pen and Picture.* (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1931, pp. 71, $1.00.)

A popular account of the Mass, as described in the sub-title of the book, by the celebrated liturgist, Abbot Cabrol, and superbly illustrated. Possibly, the manual errs by its too great simplicity—there is not enough substance to it to satisfy those of the faithful who actually wish to know more about the Mass.

**Carrière, Abbé Victor**, "Les Épreuves de l'Église de France au XVI^e^ siècle. La persécution huguenote" (*Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, XVI, pp. 337-72, 473-501, Oct.-Déc., 1930).

These unusually interesting articles mark the end of a series begun in the same review in 1925. The world has heard so much of the St. Bartholomew and the Dragonnades that it is only fair that the opposite side of the picture should be presented, though for various reasons there has been a kind of conspiracy of silence on the subject. After tracing the causes and development of Huguenot intolerance, the author, who is a professor in the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, describes the character and violence of the persecution (surely unsurpassed for unspeakable atrocities); he estimates the number of clerical victims alone at over 5,000 for 92 dioceses of France (down to 1580); and he closes by expressing the hope that some day the cause of the French martyrs of that time will be prepared and introduced at Rome, as has so successfully been done for the Catholic martyrs of England. (R. H. Lord.)

**Cole, Charles Woolsey**, *French Mercantilist Doctrines before Colbert.* (New York, Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931, pp. xiv, 243, $2.50.)

This study, growing out of Professor Hayes's seminar in Columbia University, meets a long-felt want. Although mercantilism long dictated the domestic and foreign policies of the western European states, no one of its practitioner-statesmen or economists ever succeeded in presenting a systematic treatise on its fundamentals and ramifications, much less, attempted to trace its thinking back into earlier times. Modern European writers have explored the early mercantilist field; this to the best of our knowledge is the first particular study of the kind in English. After this successful essay, limited as it is to one country and to less than two centuries of time (1453-1649), we hope Professor Hayes will turn other capable students to early mercantilist studies in England, Germany, Italy, and even Spain, where there long was experiment with now mercantilist, now land economy policies.

*Cost of Living Studies IV. Spending Ways of a Semi-Skilled Group.* University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. V, No. 5. (University of California Press, 1931, pp. 295-366.)

The University of California has done much to add to our limited knowledge of the field of consumption by its realistic studies of standards of living in wage-earning groups. The present study, the fourth to be completed, analyzes the incomes and expenditures of ninety-eight street-car men's families in the San Francisco East Bay region. Detailed statistical analysis reveals not only the present disposition of an average income of $1800 in these families, but also indicates the extent to which such an income fails to meet the requirements of an adequate standard of living. (C. W. Hasek.)

**Coulange, Louis**, *The Evolution of the Mass.* Translated by C. B. Bonner, M. A. (London, Watts and Co., pp. x, 161.)

Printed "for the Rationalist Press Association Limited", the author's thesis is: that the *agape* was a thanksgiving for the necessaries of life; that between 200 and 900 A. D. the commemoration of Christ's death was added; that later, He was thought to be on the altar; that much later, His presence was due to the brief Roman formula of consecration. The author's limits of space (161 duodecimo pages) are extremely modest, and could hardly offer hospitality to counter argumentation. Nevertheless, questions of deep import demand a less summary treatment. The literature of the Eucharist as sacrament and sacrifice is—quite apart from the large and constantly growing mass of writings from the standpoints of ascetic theology and purely liturgical archeology — simply of enormous proportions, ranging as it does through Jewish and Christian history, Scriptural exegesis and paleography, Patristic comment, and theological speculation and argumentation. But, apart from this, a cavalier rejection of St. Paul's testimony (1 Cor. xi. 23 sq.), of classical value here, smoothes somewhat the pathway of M. Coulange. (H. T. HENRY.)

*Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, 1775-1781, giving a daily narrative of his military service as an officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers during the years 1775-1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York.* 2 Vols. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1930, pp. x, 737, $10.00 set.)

An absorbing account, admirably illustrated by reproductions of contemporary maps, of the Revolutionary War by a British participant, this two-volume work will be indispensable to the searcher in the history of the period. Mr. French published that part of the Mackenzie Diary which told of Lexington and Concord. This section is now reprinted.

DIETRICH, Sister MARY DOROTHEA, *Vergil in the Works of St. Ambrose.* The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, XXIX. (The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1931, pp. xvi, 130, $3.00.)

As in our day some would have the Church completely identify herself with the culture of the age and some would have her utterly reject it, so in the days of the expiring Roman Empire. Some would have fitted Christianity into the framework of ancient culture, some would not have recognized the ancient heritage. The outcome, of course, was of neither, or, if one likes, of both, and St. Ambrose contributed much to the discovery of the *via media.* He could not have done otherwise. By birth, family, education, pre-episcopal office he was of the cultured class of Old Rome; by birth, family, if not also pre-episcopal office, thoroughly Christian. He could not separate himself from either set of influences. What the pagan culture was to him as shown in his writings so far as Vergil was concerned has been faithfully, and carefully analysed by Sister Dorothea. There is room now for a like study of Cicero in St. Ambrose.

DUTCHER, Dean, *The Negro in Modern Industrial Society.* (Lancaster, Pa., 1930, pp. xiv, 137.)

This careful statistical study, based largely on the occupational data of the Censuses of 1910 and 1920, constitutes a second volume in a series on Negro Migration, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. The migration of the negro from the South to the North, and from an agricultural to an urban environment during the second decade of the century resulted in an apparent drop in the number of negroes gainfully employed, but led to a wider distribution of the negro in professional, managerial, and skilled pursuits, and even more so in the semi-skilled occupations. The great changes in the occupational status of the negro as a result of the unusual developments in our economic life during the decade are clearly set forth. (C. W. Hasek.)

**Evennett, H. Outram,** *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent. A Study in the Counter-Reformation.* (Cambridge [England], University Press, 1930, pp. xvii, 536.)

The author, a Catholic and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has planned a work in two volumes, which should supply one of our chief desiderata about the Tridentine period: a thorough study of the correspondence, policies, and activities of the foremost French ecclesiastical figure of the time, the Cardinal of Lorraine. This first volume deals with the critical years from 1559 to 1562, when the Catholic world was shaken almost to its foundations over the question of the "resumption" of the Council of Trent or the calling of a new council so organized and conducted as to offer hopes of winning back the Protestants, and when in France, in particular, there was a strong movement in favor of a separate, national settlement of the religious question by means of a national council, colloquies with and concessions to the Huguenots, and the adoption of a more or less clear-cut policy of toleration towards dissenters. In this irenic but dangerous movement, the Cardinal of Lorraine was, as the author shows, much more the leader than were Catherine de Medici or the Chancellor L'Hôpital, to whom the credit (if credit it be) has usually been given. The volume is full of interesting new facts and views; and while recognizing the defects and mistakes of the Cardinal of Lorraine, it presents him, in general, in highly favorable light, and does much to vindicate him from the slanderous fabrications of Huguenot pamphleteers, perpetuated by many generations of anti-Catholic historians. (R. H. Lord.)

**Faulkner, Harold Underwood,** *The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914: A History of American Life,* XI. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xx, 390, $4.00.)

The *History of American Life*, edited by Professors Schlesinger and Fox, is rapidly nearing completion. Only three gaps remain to be filled with five volumes: 1763-1830, 1850-1865 and 1878-1898. This volume, by Professor Faulkner, is one of the most delightful of the series so far published. Naturally the social reforms of the transformed democracy which evolved after the war with Spain receive much attention. Religion receives a chapter with "reforms", but Catholicism is not treated as it might be if its phenomenal growth in this period is taken into account. There are notices of the Church's position in regard to race-suicide (p. 165), temperance (p. 224), and prohibition which the Church "eyed coldly" (p. 225). In the chapter suggesting the authorities, no book is noted referring to Catholicism.

Fehr, Hans, *Die Entstehung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Vortrag gehalten auf den internationalen Historiker-Kongress in Oslo, 1928.* (Bern, Max Doechsel, 1929, pp. 28.)

Historians are limited in their views of past events by their personal selves and by the spirit of the age in which they live. With the latter limitation in mind, Dr. Fehr briefly reviews what Swiss historians of the past thought and wrote about the origins of the Swiss Confederation and ventures his interpretation in the framework of the historical thinking of this age.

Getty, Sister Marie Madeline, *The Life of the North Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of Saint Augustine.* The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, XXVIII. (Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1931, pp. xvi, 159, $3.00.)

With practical preachers, sermons are directed to practical ends—the needs of their people in their every-day life. Through sermon literature, therefore, the historian may look into the life of a folk. St. Augustine was a practical preacher, and he preached directly, for he had lived the life of the people whom he addressed. His sermons are in this dissertation studied for what they reveal of the customs, occupations, amusements, family relations and social intercourse of the North African people of the early fifth century. The translations in the text are supported by their Latin Augustinian version in the notes. There is little comment, and there is no need of it. He who runs may see how the significance of what is presented. Can one, after perusing Sister Marie Madeline's dissertation, any longer hold that the Fathers may be studied without taking into full account the environment in which they thought, wrote and preached?

Greenlaw, Edwin, *The Province of Literary History.* Johns Hopkins Monographs in Literary History, I. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. xii, 183.)

This volume is designed to introduce some general ideas which are to be brought out presently in other monographs, presenting the results of the English seminary of the Johns Hopkins University or that of other sources. The conceptions which will govern the series are briefly stated in the preface: "literary history is a learning having its own method" and having important relations to the history of culture and to literary criticism; the presenting of studies squarely based on research that is interpreted; the study of history of civilization through literature rather than through the study of writers and their works in isolation; the results of scholarship need not be pedantically presented. Graduate students in the natural sciences as well as in the humanities may with profit read this introductory volume and, we predict, also its successors.

Guillaume Farel, *1489-1565. Biographic nouvelle, écrite par un groupe d'historiens—de Suisse, de France, et d'Italie.* (Neuchâtel–Paris, 1930, 780 pp.)

In 1925 a *Comité Farel* was organized to prepare a lasting literary monument to the indefatigable Reformer who probably did more to Protestantize *la Suisse ormande* than even Calvin and who both prepared the way for and faithfully assisted in the latter's world-historical activity at Geneva. The present volume, the fruit of the committee's labors, is the work of twenty scholars of three countries. Naturally the contributions are of unequal value, and there is much repetition. Naturally, too, under the circumstances, the authors have judged Farel's character and some of his actions in a manner that even non-Catholic critics have found unduly indulgent — when one is preparing a tribute for a quadricentennial, one prepares a tribute. But of the many biographies of Farel, this is by far the best. (R. H. LORD.)

HOLLIS, CHRISTOPHER, *The Monstrous Regiment: How England Came to Accept the Reformation.* (New York, Minton Balch and Co., 1930, pp. 237, $2.50.)

Such a volume as this naturally challenges comparison with those of Mr. Belloc on the same topic, and it is only fair to say that it does not suffer by the comparison. Mr. Hollis writes incisively, even brilliantly, of the era of the Elizabethan settlement and shows a keen insight into the labyrinthine processes of its perpetrators. Further, he shows more balanced judgment and less passionate prejudice than does Mr. Belloc. He is obviously trying to be fair rather than convincing. Yet we are inclined to feel that, at times, he has leaned backward in so doing. He frankly has considerable admiration for Elizabeth and does his best to shift much of the responsibility for the ruthlessness of her reign upon Cecil and Walsingham. Granting, of course, that they not infrequently manoeuvred her into positions she would rather have avoided, it none the less remains true that their power depended upon her good pleasure. Again, many will be inclined to consider the treatment of Mary Stuart as much too favorable to Elizabeth. Mr. Hollis might possibly be embarrassed if, as is not impossible, he be some day called upon to pay his devotions to her as the Martyr Queen of Scotland.

But we can think of no book which so keenly reveals the mind of the age, so adequately exposes thought and life, so succinctly describes not England so much as Englishmen, and all in so brief a space. Particularly enlightening is the chapter upon the testimony of the drama.

To our mind, the great merit of the book, apart from its great intrinsic value, lies in the fact that a witty English Catholic can write so illuminating a book with so little of the heat of controversy and the bitterness of four hundred years of obloquy. It is as far from Cobbett as it is from Foxe.

HOWLAND, CHARLES P., Ed., *Survey of American Foreign Relations 1930.* (New Haven, Council on Foreign Relations, Yale University Press, 1930, pp. xv, 549, $5.00.)

A most useful historical background for the study of American foreign relations in the Pacific and the Far East is supplied by this third annual *Survey*. A particularly interesting chapter upon the region that "belongs to the story-tellers", the islands of the Pacific, is one of the contributions of Professor George H. Blakeslee of Clark University. Discussion of the limitation of armaments and the settlement of the Russo-Chinese dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway under the terms of the Pact of Paris complete the section upon "World Order and Coördination". A final division treats of "Post-War Financial Relations". The volume is a helpful and authoritative digest of recent American foreign relations. Its treatment of important questions is as entertaining as it is thorough. (JOHN A. MENG.)

HYMA, ALBERT, *The Youth of Erasmus.* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1930, pp. xi, 350-lx, $3.00.)

No one ever began life more inauspiciously than Erasmus. Illegitimate, with childhood and early manhood most unhappy, Erasmus grew up, trying to blot out facts that could not be blotted out, misrepresenting many of his teachers and associates. Only about forty years ago did it become clear that Erasmus "had not scrupled at telling several plain lies." Dr. Hyma presents the evidence on Erasmus' early environment in an effort to determine how far Erasmus strayed from the truth. In thus competently rehabilitating the good fame of Erasmus' early associates, the Brethren of the Common Life, Dr. Hyma might, however, refrain from casting aspersions upon medieval men and their ways of thinking. That is no longer done. Scholarship no longer defines asceticism as "a system of thought directed toward the suppression of physical enjoyment" and humanity as "something neglected and even despised by the medieval scribes" (p. 11). (F. J. TSCHAN.)

JOHNSON, SVEINBJORN, *Pioneers of Freedom: An Account of the Icelandic Free State (874-1262).* (Boston, Stratford Company, 1930, pp. vii, 361.)

In June, 1930, Iceland celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the founding of its Althing, or Parliament. Leif Erikson, a citizen of this Icelandic state, was "the first white discoverer of America". Furthermore, the Icelandic state founded in the ninth century continued free during the centuries while Europe was in the grip of feudalism and centralized monarchies. Hence the author thinks that English readers will welcome his work. The class of "ordinary readers" to whom Mr. Johnson addresses the book should welcome the book. Unfortunate, however, is it that its author "had no intention to delve into technical and complicated or controversial matters." Such delvings the competent scholar may not neglect and, if the masses are to develop intellectually and come to appreciate scholarship, they may not be omitted. Some questions arise: Why the distinction between Christianity and the Church (ch. VIII)? Were not the Icelanders eventally converted to Catholicism? There is no mention of Catholicism as such in the book. The author, furthermore, generally writes without much knowledge of background. Evidence of this defect appears in his bibliography as well as in his text. The more critical "ordinary reader" will be on his guard against the author's strong claims for Viking character and deeds. On the whole it is a pity that the "ordinary reader" cannot be treated to popularly written scientifically historical fare. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

KASTNES, KARL, *Kirchengeschichte in Längschnitten.* (Bonn, Peter Hanstein, 1931, pp. iv, 213, 1 Mk.)

A topical review of church history intended primarily for the use of teachers in the *Oberschulen*, conveniently arranged under topics, accompanied by short lists of books readily accessible to students. The compiler has not failed to note the importance of artistic, sociological, and intellectual topics.

**Lot, Ferdinand**, *The End of the Ancient World.* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. xxvi, 451, $5.00.)

Dramatically M. Lot makes us see how life fled the Roman Empire, heir of the ancients' political genius. In spite of Greek theory and Roman practical sense, however, the Empire declined primarily for political reasons. Bureaucracy gained the upper hand and nowhere has bureaucracy been a preserving factor of national life. With the bureaucracy came a caste system, which by "fixing" people robbed them of vitality. Secondarily, the Empire died of economic exhaustion: the chapters dealing with this phase will explain how western Europe had to pass from a "money" to a "land" economy. Not so well taken is the further explanation that the demise of the Empire was in part due to the rise of the Church; had the Roman State not already sunk hopelessly low by the time Christianity was strong enough to affect Roman life? Did the controversies over heresy affect Rome more than the absurdities of late Roman philosophies? Was Emperor-worship of the essence of Roman power? The Germans, to be sure, provoked the débâcle, and their attack is well portrayed. Henri Berr, who contributed the preface, says that Mr. Lot "interiorizes history—not limiting himself to facts, he plumbs the very depths of psychology, both collective and individual" (p. xx). The book will do admirably as a background volume for the intellectual history of the period to the accession of Pippin the Short to the kingship of the Franks.

**Lucas, Henry Stephen**, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347.* University of Michigan Publications: History and Political Science, VIII. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1929, pp. xvii, 696, $4.00.)

The University of Michigan adds with this volume another noteworthy number to its publications in the field of history and political science. Working under the handicap of a library, reasonably enough, not equipped for his theme, far off on the Pacific coast, Dr. Lucas has got the better of difficulties which few who live in or near great library centers can well visualize.

His work fills in a painful gap in late medieval history. Lying between the two leading states of western Europe, England and France, the Netherlands have always played an important, if not sometimes even a determining, rôle in the rivalry and conflicts of the major states. The connection between the feudality and other cities of the Low Countries with England through the wool trade and fisheries on the one hand, and with France through industrial and commercial relations, also on account of the expansionist tendencies of the French kings, on the other hand, has long been well known. What part, however, the Low Countries actually played in the first Hundred Years' War between England and France has not been told, either thoroughly or satisfactorily. The story proved extremely complex, but Dr. Lucas tells it well and clearly, thanks in part to his introductory chapter on the geography and the political situations of the Netherlands in 1325. But twenty-two years of the war are discussed. The narrative ends with the breakdown of the Anglo-Netherlands alliance after Crecy. Older sources, notably Froissart, have been forsaken as unsatisfactory and often very unreliable guides. Documentary materials in the archives and libraries of France and the Low Countries are substituted. Much might have been found in England, but there are limitations even to the quest for more light. The reviewer trusts that Dr. Lucas may some day be able to work the English mine and extend his studies into the Burgundian period of the war. (Francis J. Tschan.)

**Marinoni, A.**, *Italy, Yesterday and Today.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xii, 315, $5.00.)

Very truly the majority of Americans is of all peoples the least prepared to make the most of their opportunities of travel. Europe to the most of them is a pleasure resort well provided with museums and art galleries, to give "tone" to the "small talk" they look forward to when they get back home. They have no thought of what are the traditions of the European countries, what the contributions of each to civilization. That Italy may be more happily understood is the purpose of this little volume, although it, too, fails to go deeply enough to serve those well who wish to travel thoroughly.

**Moreau, É de, S. J.**, *Histoire de l'Église. Collection belge de Manuels d'Histoire.* 3d (Belgian) ed. (Tournai-Paris, Casterman, 1931, pp. x, 390.)

This convenient volume, designed for student use, well summarizes the outstanding facts of church history, but with few efforts to interpret or to relate them. Purely secular history is either excluded or, when, as in the case of the Crusades or the Wars of Religion it is closely interwoven with Church history, briefly summarized. Other matter of auxiliary importance is given in fine print. Art, literature, science, as related to the Church, are noticed. Belgian church history, naturally, is stressed. For reference by busy pastors the book must be valuable, but pedagogically its advisability may be challenged. The need of the thorough study of church history especially in relation with the so-called "profane" history is too glaring these days to be overlooked. Maps and an analytical index add to the general utility of the volume.

**Moreau, Dom Hadelin de**, *Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne, Abbé de Maredsous, Premier Primat de l'Ordre Bénédictin (1849-1913).* (Abbaye de Maredsous, 1930, pp. 395.)

An interesting account of the great Benedictine churchman whose enlightened zeal and rare ability were the inspiration of practically all the recent glorious achievements of the Order of St. Benedict. Beuron, Maredsous, San Anselmo and St. Athanasius in Rome, the Plain-Chant revival, the Liturgical Movement, the *Revue Bénédictine*, all were more or less directly the fruit of his untiring energy and talents. A difficult task to do justice to all these accomplishments without obscuring the attractive and holy personality of the man, yet Dom Hadelin has succeeded well. A handy and complete *table des matières* enhances the usefulness of the volume. (W. M. D.)

**Mowatt, R. B.**, *Contemporary Europe and Overseas, 1898-1920.* Vol. 9. *Periods of European History.* Ed. Arthur Hassall. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xxiv, 392, $2.90.)

The series to which this volume has been added is well-known. The general character of the series, largely political in interest, very convenient for reference but not always for reading because of the utter "dryness" of some of the volumes, is maintained in this book. Unfortunately the author is not in sympathy with "revisionism," and hence his volume is already nearly obsolete in parts. In other respects, too, the work is disappointing.

**O'Brien, Louis**, Ph. D., *Innocent XI and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.* (Berkeley, University of California, 1930, pp. vii, 231.)

Dr. O'Brien's dissertation is a scholarly investigation into the neglected subject of the Holy See's participation in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Based upon personal researches in the libraries and archives of Paris and Rome, and particularly in the archives of the Vatican and of the *Affaires Etrangères*, the author follows the diplomatic measures which were taken by the king in securing the apparent sanction of the pope for this stupendous page in the history of religious toleration. Dr. O'Brien sums up the attitude of Innocent XI as follows: "Unconsulted in advance, he cannot be held responsible for it. Uninformed of the attendant persecution and accepting the ordinance as it stood, he approved it. The aftermath of forced conversions, he condemned. In this light only are his actions and words, as well as those of his contemporaries, seen to be consistent." As might be expected, coming from the school which conferred the laureate upon him, Dr. O'Brien's study contains an exhaustive bibliography of the source-material upon which his book is based. There is also an index.

**Osborne, C. E.**, *Christian Ideas in Political History: Holland Memorial Lectures. 1925.* (London, John Murray, 1929, pp. xiv, 319, 10s. 6d.)

The author "has attempted to consider certain historical instances of the conscious efforts or unconscious tendencies to incorporate the Christian spirit in the organized life and citizenship of civilized existence." Through the Middle Ages into contemporary times he comes, analyzing the pertinent works of the men whose thought seems to him to have been most representative of the religious, social, and political thinking of their age. In short, telling sentences he reviews such men as Aquinas, Ockham, Marsilio of Padua, Dante, Calvin, Grotius, Bodin, Kant, Rousseau, Maurice, Adam Smith, and the outstanding contemporaries. The argument often may be easily lost and connections difficult to establish, but analyses are always keen. Thus the Franciscan mind found the Sermon on the Mount as congenial to its spirit as it was foreign to that of the Protestant reformers (page 123). Dante was in his *De Monarchia* more akin to modern than to sixteenth-century thinking with respect to the solidarity of men (page 93). Evil in its effects as was Calvin's chilling of "the sunshine of heaven and the laughter of earth" where his creed became dominant, Geneva's other famous citizen did more harm through his humanitarian philosophy (pages 136-137). Rousseau's theory of the original equality of men, moreover, is as old as the Middle Ages, the Alexandrian Fathers, the Stoics (page 139). Grotius tried to bring the nations under law after the Renaissance had produced an "unethical nationalism." Pointing to Leo XIII's economic writings, he notes that the Church (and the reference is not confined to the Roman Catholic Church) does not today see enemies only in atheistic preachers. To it the profiteer or exploiter is a more dangerous enemy (page 284). Particular interpretations one may not always agree with, but in general one may, indeed, is compelled by the vigorous sanity of the book to accept conclusions. Witness: "the spirit of Christianity, or the Christian Church as its representative, has to steer between . . . the Scylla of a blind hostility to the *Zeitgeist* . . . and the Charybdis of an equally blind acceptance of that time-spirit's often hasty and one-sided conclusions." The Church must stand on Christ; in other words, be loyal to its own true nature, or "be guilty of spiritual suicide by process of evaporation" (pages 302-303). "Christianity and Man were made for one another. Man needs Christ's religion. He cannot get on without it. It is, therefore, 'still in its great morning'" (page 309). (F. J. TSCHAN.)

POLMAN, P., O. F. M., *Die Polemische Methoden der Ersten Gegner der Reformation. Katholisches Leben und Kampfen im Zeitalter der Glanbenspaltung.* Vereinschfiften der Gesellschaft zur herausgabe des *Corpus Catholicorum*, No. 4 (Münster-in-Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931, pp. viii, 38, 1.20 Mk.)

The Protestant reformers rejecting tradition and hence its organs, church reformers, pope, councils, etc., would have the Scriptures the sole basis of theology. Although their Catholic opponents held fast to tradition, some argued on the basis of the Scriptures, to refute the Protestants. This brochure is a preliminary to the publication of a larger work on the historical methods of sixteenth-century polemics.

ROESBROECK, ROBERT VAN, *Het Wonderjaar te Antwerpen, 1566-1567. Inleiding tot de studie der Godsdienstonlusten te Antwerpen van 1566 tot 1585.* (Antwerp, 1930, pp. xxvi, 527.)

The author, a Doctor of Louvain, has taken the stormy year 1566-67 as an introduction to a study of the religious troubles at Antwerp down to 1585. The archives of that city and of the Kingdom of Belgium and papers from the Farnese archives have served as a basis for a careful and scholarly monograph, which throws much new light upon the political, economic and religious crisis of that time.

As to the famous image-smashing outbreak of August 20, 1566, with which the troubles began, the author holds that this was not the result of spontaneous mob violence, but was planned and organized; and behind it he sees the hand of rich Antwerp, German, English, and Jewish merchants. (R. H. LORD.)

S. N. D., *Sir William Howard, Viscount Stafford.* (London, Sands and Co., 1929, pp. xi, 252, 8/6.)

The grandson of one of the Elizabethan martyrs and related through his wife to that valiant woman, Blessed Margaret Plantagenet, the mother of Cardinal Pole, Lord Stafford, the last of the English victims of the Oates Plot, won the martyr's crown on December 29, 1680, by a glorious coincidence, the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. He was beatified last December together with his grandfather and more than a hundred other English martyrs. An unassuming life of a noble and unassuming man, authentically written with honesty and simplicity, it will be welcomed by all who have an interest in the English martyrs. Historians will also find it of value in the study of the period and especially of the Oates plot.

**Sweet, Alfred H.**, *History of England.* (Boston, D. C. Heath Co., 1931, pp. ix, 798.)

This textbook has been written to acquaint the college student with the essential facts of English history, to lead him to connect these facts as well as to arouse in him that interest in the subject which will make him wish to delve deeper. These purposes, not trumpeted in the preface, mark the book as a return to substance in history teaching; in truth, a return to sanity. The author is well versed in things Catholic and has, much more than other writers of textbooks in this field, the Catholic point of view. There is nothing to which a Catholic who has what we shall call a scientific, not sentimental, training in the history of the Church, can reasonably object. Well-selected bibliographies, each item in them carefully appraised, are appended to the chapters. As commendable as the text is the format of the book, clearly printed, bound for use, without " text-bookish " trappings.

**Taylor, Paul S.**, *Mexican Labor in the United States Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.* University of California Publications in Economics, VIII, no. 1. (University of California Press, 1931, pp. ix, 1-24.)

This excellent study describes the Mexican colony of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, whither it was brought under contract by the Bethlehem Steel Company as an experiment under pressure for common labor in 1923. It has varied in numbers from 1000 to 350, but since 1929 has become stabilized around 400, and has demonstrated its ability to maintain itself without recurring importations by the company. Results of the experiment have been satisfactory both to the company and the Mexicans. (W. F. Dunaway.)

**Turcan, M. le Chanoine R.**, Ancien Supérieur du Grant Séminaire de Seez, *Les Fêtes Chrétiennes.* Tome I: *Les Fêtes en l'honneur de Dieu et de Jésus-Christ.* Deuxième Edition. Tome II: *Les Fêtes de la Très Sainte Vièrge et des Saints.* Deuxième Edition. (Paris, Pierre Téqui.)

The two volumes complement the author's previously published sermons or popular instructions on the Sundays of the Church Year. The mysteries celebrated on great feasts of our Lord, our Lady, the Saints, should have some treatment even though local conditions compel their restriction to Sundays for such doctrinal or moral considerations. The author adopts the easy conversational style best suited to popular instruction and admonition. (H. T. H.)

**Walser, Fritz**, *Die politische Entwicklung Ulrichs Von Hutten während der Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation.* Beiheft 14, Historische Zeitschrift. (München und Berlin, R. Oldenburg, 1928, p. xii, 131, 6 Mk.)

An admirable study of the evolution of Ulrich Von Hutten's position in German politics from the time he left the Church to the Diet of Worms. Especially valuable is the chapter on Ulrich Von Hutten's personality as a factor of his career.

**Weber, Wilhelm**, *Theodor Mommsen zum Gedächtnis seines 25. Todestages.* (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1929, p. 27.)

An address, delivered in Halle and Berlin, 1928, giving a brief summary of the life and appreciation of the work of the great historian of the Romans.

**Zeiller, Jacques**, *L'Empire Romain et l'Eglise.* Publiée sous la Direction de M. E. Cavaignac. (Paris: E. de Boccard, Éditeur, 1928, p. 360.)

A well-written survey of the history of the Church through the pontificate of Leo I, thoroughly done, first with respect to the Empire as a whole (chs. I-III, to Justinian) and the border peoples (ch. IV, Persia, Armenia, India, Arabia, Africa, the Germanic and Celtic regions), then province for province.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

### MISCELLANEOUS

Providence in History. F. J. Kelly (*Truth*, July).

The Nature of the Church. W. L. Sperry (Harvard Theological Review, July).

L'Église et l'État, I. Joseph Ferland (*Canada Français*, September).

Protestantism *versus* History. Hoffman Nickerson (*American Church Monthly*, September). The Protestant case against apostolic succession.

The Place of Adolph von Harnack among Church Historians. G. W. Richards (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Some Cultural Principles in Hebrew Civilization. Margaret B. Cook (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, L, pt. III).

Some Cases of Adoption in Israel. Samuel Feigin (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, L, pt. III).

The First Evangelic Tradition. B. S. Easton (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, L, pt. III).

The Holy Shroud of Turin. A. S. Barnes (*Blackfriars*, August).

The Transmission of the Book of the Covenant. R. H. Pfeiffer (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).

St. John's Alleged Martyrdom. John Donovan, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August).

Roman Catacombs and Christian Martyrs. Bishop Shahan (*Missionary*, September).

El encuentro de San Pedro y San Pablo en Antioquía. Francisco Cuenca (*Razón y Fe*, July).

The Permanent Peace Program of Benedict XV (continued). D. A. Maclean (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, September).

Le cinquantenaire des Congrès Eucharistiques Internationaux. François Veuillot (*Correspondant*, June).

Early Religious Drama. C. C. H. Williamson, O.S.C. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, August).

Une ancienne dévotion populaire, l'aïeule du Christ. E. Lamalle, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, June).

The Order of St. John of Jerusalem. E. W. Polson Newman (*Contemporary Review*, July).

The Nestorian Relics Recently Discovered in China. P. Yashio Saiki (*Mid-Pacific Magazine*, August).

Ephesus Fifteen Centuries Ago. H. L. Motry (*N. C. W. C. Review*, June).

St. John of the Cross. Robert Sencourt (*Criterion*, July).

The Origins of the Discalced Carmelite Friars. Montgomery Carmichael (*Thought*, September).

Capuchinos precursores del P. Bartolomé Barberis en el estudio de Buenaventura. Agustin de Corniero, O.M.Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, April, July).

Les anciens missionaires Capucins de Syrie et leurs écrits apostoliques de language arabe. Louis de Gonzague, O.M.Cap. (*Collectanea Franciscana*, July).

Pierre Dubois en zijn Statenbondsplan (1306). P. J. Idenburg (*De Gids*, August).

La croisade d'Ugo Colonna dans le haut moyen-âge. Pierre Ajutello (*Revue de la Corse Ancienne et Moderne*, January-February).

Les universités au XIII siècle: II, La bataille de l'aristotèlisme. Louis Halphen (*Revue Historique*, May-June).

El canciller de Côrdoba Almodáfar y sus expediciones contra los cristianos. M. M. Antuña (*Religion y Cultura*, June).

Leontius of Byzantium and His Defence of the Council of Chalcedon. Silas Rees (*Harvard Theological Review*, April).

The Class Basis of Luther's Reformation. Roy Pascal (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Catholic Reformation and Council of Trent. T. J. Shahan (*Ecclesiastical Review*, August).

Some Aspects of the Counter-Reformation. F. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, September).

The Re-opening of the Council of Trent and the Cardinal of Lorraine (1547-1562). F. Cabrol, O. S. B. (*Dublin Review*, July).

*Idée Fixe:* the Mind of Columbus. E. G. R. Taylor (*Hispanic-American Historical Review*, August).

Pierre d'Ailly et la découverte de l'Amérique. Edmond Buron (*Canada Français*, June-August).

La historia del descubrimiento y los fraudes del P. Las Casas. Rómulo D. Carbia (*Nosotros*, June).

"Apôtres-Conquistadores". F. W. Noll, S.J. (*Dublin Review*, July).

The Jesuit Missions in South America. George Chatterton-Hill (*Contemporary Review*, June).

San Martín and Bolivar. Waldo Frank (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, July).

La Virgen-Madre: La Cruz y la Suástica. B. Tavera Acosta (*Cultura Venezolana*, February-March).

First Bishop of Chicoutimi. Mgr. Dominique Racine. (*Columbia*, September.)

### EUROPEAN

Alfred Loisy and the Death of Modernism. E. J. Dillon (*Contemporary Review*, September).

France: Progress of the Catholic Revival. S. J. Brown, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August).

St. Vincent de Paul (continued). Hugh Blunt (*Magnificat*, July).

Some International Converts. S. B. James. IV, Jacques Maritain. (*Missionary*, July).

The Greatest Saint in France. Louis Foley. St. Martin. (*American Church Monthly*, August).

The Quincentenary of Joan of Arc. E. M. Ross (*Dalhousie Review*, July).

Joan of Arc, 1431-1931. J. H. Baxter (*Scots Magazine*, June).

Richard Simon et les Protestants d'après sa correspondance. Henri Fréville (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, January-February).

A Jansenist Saint. Henry Hogarth. Antoine le Maître. (*London Quarterly Review*, July).

La chambre de Louis XIII et cardinal de Richelieu. Maximin Deloche (*Revue Historique*, May-June).

Deux exemples des difficultes du "Simultaneum" en Alsace sous la Restauration. P. Leuillot ( *Revue d'Alsace*, March-April).

La situación jurídica de los Religiosos en España. Luis Izaga, (*Razón y Fe*, July).

Father Persons, S. J., and the Seminaries in Spain, IV, V. Leo Hicks (*Month*, July, August).

El Iñigo de Loyola visto por Adolfo Coster (continued). J. M. Pérez Arregui (*Razón y Fe*, June, August).

The Church in Germany. G. N. Shuster (*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, August).

Liturgical Worship in Wittenberg from 1520-1530. J. F. Kreuger (*Lutheran Church Quarterly*, July).

Kalvinismus und Staatsräson in Brandenburg zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Otto Hintze (*Historische Zeitschrift*, 144, heft 2).

Catholicisme et élites intellectuelles dans l'Allemagne et la France d'après guerre, II. Robert d'Harcourt (*Correspondant*, June).

Il Giansenismo e la legislazione ecclesiastica della Cisalpina. Guglielmina Cattani (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, January-April).

God's Vagabond: Saint Francis of Assisi. Gamaliel Bradford (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, July).

Le Cardinal Agliardi. Camille Barrère (*Correspondant*, August).

The Literature of the Italian Reformation. F. C. Church (*Journal of Modern History*, September).

St. Anthony of Padua. Dominic Devas, O.F.M. (*Month*, August).

Fascisme et Vatican. M. Dugard (*Grande Revue*, July).

The Vatican and Fascismo. Denis Gwynn (*Nineteenth Century*, August).

Fascisme et Vatican. Théodore Vaucher (*Revue de France*, September).

The Pope and Fascism. M. H. H. Macartney (*Fortnightly Review*, September).

Fascisme et Papauté. Henri Massoul (*Mercure de France*, September).

### BRITISH EMPIRE

Le mouvement religieux en Angleterre. Douglas Carter (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July).

St. Augustine and the Conversion of England. C. M. O'Hare (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August).

The Medieval Reporter. R. B. Lloyd (*Fortnightly Review*, August).

Titchfield Abbey. Agnes Mott (*Blackfriars*, July).

The Monasteries and the Reformation. G. G. Coulton (*Quarterly Review*, July).

The Papal Legate and English Monasteries in 1206. C. R. Cheney (*English Historical Review*, July).

L'aventure de James Fitzmaurice, "Généralissime du Pape" (1570-1579). C. de la Roche (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April-June). An episode of the wars of religion under Elizabeth.

The Gordon Riots. Gregory Macdonald (*Dublin Review*, July).

A Victorian Dean and the Oxford Movement. H. J. Palmer (*Modern Churchman*, July). Dean Stanley.

George Calvert at Oxford. Bromley Smith (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, June).

The Art of Belloc, Biographer. J. J. Reilly (*Catholic World*, September).

Economics and the Reformation in Scotland. W. H. Marwick (*Scots Magazine*, August).

The Theory of an Independent Celtic Church. Hugh Graham (*Thought*, September).

Two Oriel Men in Ireland. E. J. Quigley. Whately and Newman. (*Blackfriars*, September).

Traces of Catholicism in Welsh Folklore and Custom. T. C. Edwards (*Blackfriars*, July).

Le premier écrivain né en Canada. E. Z. Massicotte (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, April). Sister Marie Morin de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 1649-1730.

Deux traitres d'Acadie et leur victime, I. Émilie Lauvrière (*Canada Français*, September).

Rose du Canada. Pierre Duchaussois (*Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa*, April-June). Foundress of the Congrégation des Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie.

Sketches in Indian Life and Religions, XX. T. F. Macnamara, S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August).

Christianity and Indian Nationalism. S. S. Singha (*Contemporary Review*, August).

### UNITED STATES

Religious Freedom in the Maryland Colony. E. N. McKinley (*American Church Monthly*, July, August).

France and the Mississippi Valley: a Résumé. Louise P. Kellogg (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June).

Catholics at Yorktown. F. J. Byrne (*Catholic Virginian*, August).

A Carroll Myth. D. C. Lawless (*America*, September 5). Daniel Carroll of Duddington).

Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton—Saint? J. B. Code (*N. C. W. C. Review*, July).

Catholic Missions and Missionaries among the Indians of Dakota (1818-1874). Mary A. Norton (*North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, April).

Four Early Ecclesiastical Observers in America. Peter Guilday (*Ecclesiastical Review*, September). Bishop Plessis, Bishop de Forbin-Janson, Cardinal Bedini, Canon Salzbacher.

A Benefactor of Humanity. Joseph Gurn (*Columbia*, September). Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D.

Southern Methodism and Slavery. T. M. Whitfield (*Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, July).

Our Lady's Bishop, II. Stephen McKenna, C.SS.R. (*Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, July-September). Bishop Gross.

Bishop Curtis. Ella M. E. Flick (*Catholic World*, July).

Compiling the County's Catholic War Record. Irene Dunn (*N. C. W. C. Review*, September).

## CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

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**Carlos E. Castañeda**, B.A., M.A., Latin-American Librarian, University of Texas. He taught Spanish at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, lectured on Latin-American history and foreign relations at the University of Mexico and the University of Texas, represented the National University of Mexico at the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Virginia and is a Fellow of the Texas Historical Association, corresponding member of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission of Texas, and a contributor to *Current History, Catholic World, Texas Historical Quarterly, America,* the *Commonweal, The Missionary, Mid-America* and other magazines. He has published several books, the best known being *The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution.*

**Charles O. Paullin** has written extensively and authoritatively in the field of American naval and diplomatic history. He is a staff member of the Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution of Washington for which institution he has compiled a *Guide to Materials for U. S. History, since 1783, in London Archives*; and prepared an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the U. S.* He is at present engaged in editing the last volume of the series *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and Dependencies,* and in making a study of eminent Americans based on the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

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